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New York

President: Mr. Essy . . . . (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Agenda item 92 *(continued)*

Agenda for development: special plenary meetings at a high level to consider ways of promoting and giving political impetus to an agenda for development

(a) Report of the Secretary-General (A/49/665)

(b) Note by the President of the General Assembly (A/49/320)

Mr. Gorita (Romania): The plenary of the General Assembly offers us today its generous framework to debate one of the items of utmost importance at the forty-ninth session: the Agenda for Development. In this context, my delegation wants to express its appreciation of everything that has been done to open the way this year for the possibility of a complex and broad debate, under the aegis of the United Nations, on a matter that is crucial for the world at the end of this century: development.

First of all, we have the Secretary General's report "An agenda for development" (A/48/935) and the recently published "An agenda for development: recommendations" (A/48/665), which provided not only an innovative approach to development but also new ideas about the role of each participant in this process. Together with "An Agenda for Peace", these documents respond to the real needs of mankind in the post-cold-war period and, we hope, will guide the activities of the United Nations system into the next century.

Secondly, there were the World Hearings on Development, which offered a framework for dialogue and an exchange of views on the main aspects of development and on the role of the United Nations system in supporting this process. The wide participation of scientists, politicians and representatives of Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and the private sector confirms the interest in, and the importance given to, this matter and confers a new dimension on the universality of the United Nations.

Thirdly, there was the ministerial segment of the 1994 Economic and Social Council substantive session, where Governments presented their views on the Secretary-General's report. Suggestions were made on completing and enriching it in order to better serve our common goal — development — with a view to the requirements and challenges of the twenty-first century.

We are hopeful that our debate will offer the opportunity of bringing out new conceptual advances clarifications and appropriate suggestions for action within the United Nations to achieve and adopt the final version of the Agenda for Development as soon as possible. By our common effort and action we could ensure that the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations will coincide with the adoption of this document. It would be not only a happy coincidence but also a highly significant decision for the work and the goals of the Organization in the next century. We have the moral obligation to our peoples and our children to succeed in these efforts.

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one month of the date of the meeting*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178. Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum. When the result of a recorded and/or roll-call vote is followed by an asterisk, see annex to the record.

Allow me to highlight some of the ideas contained in the Secretary-General's reports which have a special relevance for my delegation.

First, we strongly support the concept of the five dimensions of development identified and defined by the Secretary-General. In our view, they represent important conceptual progress in this decade. These five dimensions — peace as the foundation of development, economy as the engine of progress, environment as a basis for sustainability, justice as the pillar of society and democracy as good governance — are seen as parts of an integrated concept of sustainable human development. They are strongly interlinked and confirm the complexity of this concept and of the efforts needed for its promotion. They require sustained efforts by States at the national level, as well as regional and international cooperation. They also require an adequate, coherent, coordinated and efficient multilateral system of support for development between United Nations bodies.

Secondly, we equally support the approach of development as a common problem and responsibility of all countries. The report "An agenda for development" and its recommendations identify in a comprehensive manner the needs, the challenges and the means specific to every group of countries, both developed and developing, as well as those with economies in transition. In our view, the prospects for balanced and sustained global development in the future should be based on a correct assessment of the specific problems of each country.

The third valuable idea that I wish to underline is that national efforts have an essential role in the promotion of development. In this context, good governance and the promotion and encouragement of private initiatives are of the utmost importance and might be regarded as necessary prerequisites for the enhancement of these efforts. In our view, good governance presupposes a political will in favour of change and development; internal stability, both social and political; and adequate policies and strategies to secure the efficient use of existing resources, both human and material, and to maintain equilibrium between short-, medium- and long-term efficiency criteria and options.

But this is not sufficient if there is to be sound and steady national development. Such development has to be facilitated and supported by a favourable international environment, cooperation and assistance in a spirit of partnership, international peace, and stability. In this respect, the United Nations can and must play an important role. To that end, we have the main structures provided under the Charter. In addition, there is a thorough understanding of the interdependence between development and peace. We already have "An Agenda for Peace" and the proposed agenda for development. What we have to do now is to find the ways and means, within the United Nations system, to tackle, in an integrated manner, economic and social development, as well as peace and security problems. Development is, in fact, a tool of preventive diplomacy, and peace, in its turn, a prerequisite for development.

Democracy and respect for human rights have an increasing role in the process of achieving sustainable development. In the economic sphere, democratization implies a decreasing role for Governments as main economic agents; decentralization in the economic decision-making process; and support and encouragement for private initiative. In our view, the creative capacities of individuals, acting within an adequate and supportive institutional and legal framework set up by their Governments, is the key to efficient and sustained economic growth.

At the same time, combining the innovative capacities of individuals with coordinated action by Governments for the purpose of achieving social goals is essential to human development, which is the ultimate goal of any development process.

The report "An Agenda for Development" and especially the recently published recommendations, in document A/49/665, contain important suggestions for an effective multilateral development system and for more efficient and effective United Nations development activities. We have noted these with interest, and we believe that in the run-up to the adoption of the final version of an agenda for development we should focus our efforts on defining pragmatic and concrete ways of ensuring efficiency and coordination in the development activities of the United Nations system.

My delegation supports the establishment of an intergovernmental working group — a body subordinate to the General Assembly — as the framework for new debates and for the exchange of views on this issue. We are confident that, together with the contributions of the representatives of Governments and of the intergovernmental organizations, the output of such a group would provide the necessary balance between the already valuable conceptual part of the proposed agenda for development and the courses of future action.

It is our deep conviction that the United Nations system is the most appropriate framework within which to promote global development and that the existing structures could respond to this challenge. The spirit of revitalization should encourage concrete measures aimed at enhancing the functions of the various bodies responsible for development and at increasing the efficiency of their activities. A partnership for development — something that implies not only cooperation between States but also cooperation between Member States and the United Nations system — is more necessary now than it has ever been.

I wish to conclude by quoting from the report that deals with the Secretary General's recommendations:

> "No real improvements will be possible unless the Member States are convinced of the need for, and unless nations and peoples everywhere share the fruits of, the proposed changes. Member States are challenged to grasp this opportunity and make the United Nations system a far more effective instrument of multilateralism." *(A/49/665, para. 13)*

Mr. Sucharipa (Austria): Austria welcomed the submission of the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Development". Today we join others in expressing appreciation of the concrete recommendations that have been presented, which, we understand, are based on that report. The new document contains many thought-provoking, far-reaching and innovative recommendations. It certainly merits further thorough and detailed examination in the course of our continuing efforts to finalize the proposed agenda for development. This, no doubt, will be done in the months to come, and the Austrian delegation supports the idea of the establishment of a working group for the purpose. Today, owing to the fact that the recommendations were presented just a few days ago, we can only focus on some selected major issues.

The report and the recommendations acknowledge the priority to be given by the entire United Nations system to the notion of development. It is important that all Member States acknowledge this priority if we are to find a common basis for our further endeavours.

We concur with the Secretary-General in his statement that, together, peace, the economy, environmental protection, social justice and democracy constitute a comprehensive approach to the overall dimension of development.

Economic development is essential to the success of our efforts towards peace, environmental protection, social welfare and democracy on a global scale. At the same time, all these dimensions are vital to success in our efforts to achieve sustainable economic development, with the human being at the centre of our concerns as we evolve a long-term development strategy in which the private sector and entrepreneurship, as well as good governance, will have a crucial impact.

Austria welcomes the clear emphasis that the Secretary-General places on the empowerment of women as a priority goal of the United Nations system. In virtually every dimension of development the role of women is a central element. We hope that at the forthcoming World Conference in Beijing this understanding will be crystallized into strong commitments to action. We therefore feel that a recommendation concerning improvement of the status of women in all societies should be considered in the context of section A of Chapter II, which sets out the recommendations. This is the section that deals with national policies for development.

International development cooperation cannot supplant the primary responsibility of each individual State to promote its own development policy and efforts. The proposed agenda for development should recognize that the development process is country-specific. The international community can only assist a particular State in its efforts towards development. It will have to provide support where this is required and where it is possible to do so. Austria recognizes the potential of international development cooperation that is based on the principle of partnership.

Scarcity of resources, at the national and international levels, makes inevitable the setting of priorities. Resources must be used in such a manner that the limited means available achieve the most positive results and meet the most pressing needs.

In recent years, several countries have had to face new economic and social problems on their way to transforming their economies to market-oriented standards. With the support of the international community, their integration into the world economy must be facilitated. The recommendation of the Secretary-General in that context calls for additional resources, a call which we support. Austria has assisted countries with economies in transition while maintaining at the same time its level of cooperation with developing countries. Furthermore, flows to developing countries reported last year have increased in real terms.

Major concerns have been addressed here and at other levels that the United Nations could not respond adequately to the new emerging global dimensions with regard to development issues. We do believe that the United Nations has to fulfil these tasks in close interaction between all United Nations bodies and agencies. The Bretton Woods institutions and the future World Trade Organization are principal actors in the field of international development cooperation. Austria supports the idea that such cooperation, based on the recognition of the respective identity and the respective mandate of each organization, should be complementary and should avoid unnecessary competition.

The recent international Conferences, in Rio on Environment and Development; in Barbados on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States; in Vienna on Human Rights; and recently in Cairo on Population and Development, have helped to further develop a comprehensive concept of development. In that respect, Austria fully endorses the proposal made in paragraph 35 of the recommendations of the Secretary-General that a common framework should be developed to follow up major United Nations Conferences, past and future, and that goals and targets endorsed by international conferences and summits should be synthesized and placed in a reasonable time perspective.

The Austrian delegation will have this proposal in mind when we deliberate on the follow up of the two next major Conferences, the World Social Summit and the Fourth World Conference on Women.

With regard to the role envisaged for the Economic and Social Council in paragraph 45 of the recommendations, it is our understanding that resolution 48/162 created exactly this kind of relationship between the Economic and Social Council as a unifying governing entity and the executive councils of the operational funds and programmes. We join the Secretary-General in his hope that the Council will discharge its governance function ever more effectively.

The United Nations provides a unique forum for raising public consciousness, providing information, defining the international development agenda and building the consensus needed for action. Austria has pointed out on various occasions that in our view the United Nations does not fully realize its potential of providing essential information needed for decision-making, since its data and analyses are often fragmented, presented in different formats, and compartmentalized in a multitude of competing reports.

In the context of the restructuring and the revitalization process, Austria proposed as early as in 1992 the creation of a system of integrated reports in the economic, social and related fields. Such a system of integrated reports could culminate in a state of the world development report, outlining clear options for the setting of development policy priorities. Such a report would also constitute a valuable tool in the service of preventive development, a notion proposed by the Secretary-General which deserves our full support.

Mr. Edwards (Marshall Islands): Allow me at the outset to thank the Secretary-General for his report on an agenda for development, contained in document A/49/665. I should like to make a few remarks that my delegation feels are pertinent to our discussion on this report.

I should also like to associate myself with the statement made on behalf of the Group of 77 by its Chairman. In particular, we are grateful for his remarks regarding the predominance of international expenditures on peace-keeping. This imbalance should be adequately addressed, and these discussions should put us on the right path.

Mr. Mwaungulu (Malawi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The Secretary-General has very accurately identified the so-called five pillars of development: peace, economic growth, environment, social justice and democracy. It is significant to note that none of the five can be addressed separately, as they are all required for development. The Secretary-General also points out many failings of development efforts. These may arise out of the United Nations system, or they may have other origins. He also makes a number of significant points in the first section of the report. He reminds us of the great challenges of development that lie ahead of us, and we thank him for that. The recommendations that he puts forward for action in the United Nations system are not entirely satisfactory. These would do little more than to exacerbate the debating nature of our deliberations here. Very little practical gain can come from merely extending the talking. What we require are concrete actions to improve our access to development funds. There is little need to discuss the conceptuality of development.

The Marshall Islands is well aware of the development needs that we do have. In our opinion, we satisfy many of the basic principles enshrined on the basis of the five pillars. We have also identified the means by which we can achieve development in a number of areas. Projects have been planned and scheduled by all the Ministries. For example, the Environmental Protection Authority, which is under the purview of the Ministry of Health and Environment, established a cross-sectoral National Environmental Management Strategy. It contains a number of recommendations and projects that would benefit the people of the Marshall Islands, and would stimulate economic growth by improving the underdeveloped sectors. However, most of these projects are still waiting to be implemented, since there simply are not enough funds to start them.

The Marshall Islands Government is very interested in regional economic cooperation and integration, and we feel that this has been given adequate mention by the Secretary-General. International cooperation for development is not an option, but a requirement for global peace and stability. However, we must point out that regional cooperation will not be possible without jump-starting all our economies in the Pacific.

This has been given a potential framework within the Programme of Action of the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States. In this regard, we would welcome the further elaboration of technical cooperation between developing countries. As the European Union pointed out, there is indeed a growing disparity among the developing countries, and we would gratefully accept assistance from our more affluent Group of 77 fellow members.

One of the major criticisms of development efforts over the years has been that they have created a lot of white elephants. My delegation is well aware of this. It is of concern to us that there has been so much wastage of resources over the years and that this has at times been approved by both donors and recipients. The question we have concerns the transparency of development project-planning. The projects that we should like to see in the Marshall Islands are generally low in cost and have been planned out in close cooperation and consultation with all affected parties, particularly the local people who, in our view, should participate from the very inception of such undertakings. We have never accepted a development project simply because it was recommended by outsiders.

On the question of debt, we are of course very sympathetic to countries whose debt may have escalated to uncontrolled proportions through their despotic leaders. It is a shame that so much wealth — money that could have greatly benefited the peoples concerned — was pilfered. But what are the implications if this debt is forgiven, at least for Africa and the least developed countries of the world? What about countries that have managed to avoid such bad debt situations? Will they be marginalized because of their good management record? Should we not become more responsible in terms of setting up these loan agreements?

The Group of 77 is very concerned with conditionalities on development assistance, a view that my Government shares. But we have to face some facts regarding the responsibility of good governance. If you do not have a clean house, you should borrow money to clean it up. You should not borrow money to buy a gun or to spend on a lavish dinner for yourself. We share the view expressed by Honduras that military expenditure is detrimental to development efforts.

The sometimes high social cost of structural adjustment that we can see in certain countries is a matter of great concern to us. We have become convinced of the need of some of these programmes. They are bound to work slowly, but they may not work at all if those with power do not feel obliged to serve the interests of the people. We would all be well-served to heed the suggestions made by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore: clean government; an effective and well-paid civil service; family planning; pragmatism, not dogma, in economics; freedom for foreigners and local entrepreneurs to get on with their business; universal education; results, not political correctness; and the maintenance of national solidarity and social cohesion.

The challenges that the developing countries face in terms of achieving sustainable development require honest self-reflection on the one hand and financial assistance on the other. Only national Governments can set the goals, but they cannot succeed without the assistance of the international community. In this regard there is definitely a role for a United Nations conference on the financing of development, provided that such a conference can help to strengthen the United Nations system in the economic sphere. We have already reached a consensus on the path forward at many conferences.

There is of course a need to ensure the coherence of these efforts, but what we really need is action and not more talk.

Mr. Abu Odeh (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is my pleasure to speak on behalf of my delegation on item 92, an agenda for development. At the outset, I should like sincerely to thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the subsequent report to the agenda for development he has issued recently.

There is no doubt that comprehensive development, in terms of urgency and scope, is currently one of the most significant and far-reaching international responsibilities of our time. It is so for many reasons that are known to all. The most important of those reasons is that the improvement of the living conditions of the human being is its main objective. The United Nations Charter, which does not draw any lines between the maintenance of international peace and security on the one hand, and the achievement of social and economic development, on the other, has entrenched the fundamental truism which is the guiding light of our endeavours, namely that there is no peace without development and there is no development without peace.

I wish also to thank Ambassador Insanally, the President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session, for his efforts in organizing the World Hearings on Development which coincided with the preparation of the Secretary-General's report on an agenda for development.

The delegation of Jordan wishes to reiterate Jordan's support for the five underpinnings of development which form the five dimensions of the agenda for development, namely, peace, economic growth as the generator of prosperity, the environment, social justice and democracy. To deal with the issues of development in the light of these dimensions is to ensure that our conceptual approach, our policies and programmes would enable us to achieve the objective of improving the human condition through the eradication of poverty, hunger, disease and unemployment. Unfortunately however, the spectre of poverty still haunts our world, despite our lofty beliefs, and more than a billion people live in extreme conditions and suffer the horrific effect of poverty.

We have all adopted the promotion and coordination of international cooperation for development as a slogan which we have raised and which we have striven to translate into action. As a matter of fact, that slogan has become common currency.

In so doing, we have been able to identify the problems and obstacles standing in the way of international development efforts. When we address such problems as external indebtedness, trade, capital flows and access to technology, we are actually dealing with the very foundations of development. Therefore, addressing such problems calls for serious cooperation between the North and the South and this, in turn, requires:

First, that we put our house in order on the national level. In order for us to do that, we have to keep in view the following facts: the end of the cold war and the receding spectre of war have made it possible or, rather, made it the responsibility of every State to rearrange its priorities, in accordance with its actual needs, in the light of the profound and rapid changes that are taking place in the world. It is high time nations turned from spending on armaments to investing in development. In this respect, the optimum utilization of the disposable resources must be accorded a high priority by every State. The creation of a real culture of development is essential for any solid partnership between the State and society. Such a partnership can be achieved through the efforts of non-governmental organizations, the media and the intellectuals in general because involving the individual citizen in the development process has become an indispensable necessity. On the other hand, there is no doubt that encouraging privatization and the promotion of the private sector are major prerequisites in giving impetus to the development process and, consequently, in putting our house in order on the national level.

Second: addressing the problems I have referred to and securing the necessary North/South cooperation also require that we promote cooperation between countries of the South. After putting the house in order on the national level, there is the need to strengthen dialogue and cooperation amongst the countries of the South as focusing on an exclusive South-North relationship without reactivating and institutionalizing cooperation amongst the countries of the South would impede the process of development. Jordan has signed recently an agreement setting up the South Centre and it is our hope that the Centre will become the mechanism which will make it possible to strengthen cooperation in the development field, and ensure the unity of objectives not only amongst the countries of the South but also between South and North. In this respect, I should like to state that the Jordan-Israel peace treaty which was signed recently may serve, despite the differing levels of development between the two countries, as a model for regional cooperation and partnership. The two parties have signed an agreement involving a number of issues that require serious cooperation between the two countries in order to achieve mutually beneficial objectives. That agreement covers a number of areas of cooperation such as water resources, energy, the environment and trade. The agreement came after a period of war that plagued the region for a long time and affected development adversely. The idea of setting up a development bank in the region is a very important one that should be given due attention. My Government hopes that such an institution will materialize and become the machinery through which regional partnership will take place. The Casablanca conference in Morocco has paved the way towards a much broader regional cooperation that will have a positive impact at the international level.

Worthy of note in this connection is the question of the flow of assistance from the North to the South and in particular Official Development Assistance. At present, we live in a world that is no longer the world of the cold war era. International partnership and globalization are our two main avenues to a better world of sustainable development. In the cold war era, the prevailing idea was that assistance to the countries of the South was a purely political matter. This view must change. It must be replaced by the conviction that assistance to countries of the South is an investment in development and peace. Investing in international partnership is a two-way street that brings benefits to all. We in Jordan while we are aware that the North has its share of economic problems, call on the countries of the North take a more positive view of assistance to the countries of the South.

In this connection, it is important to assist the least developed countries in order to bring them into the fold of international partnership. The developing countries that are seriously striving to achieve sustainable development bear a heavy burden indeed in trying to achieve short-term trade balances and more often than not this militates against their striving after sustainable development.

My country has repeatedly suggested that the agenda for development should include a programme of compensating developing countries with long-term gains for the suffering they endure in the short term. The proposal involves the adoption of objective criteria whereby the achievements of the countries striving after sustainable development may be assessed. Such criteria include respect for human rights, and developing the human being, as well as the reports of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on the implementation of restructuring and structural reform programmes. Also criteria of the success of protection of the environment programmes may be applied. Assistance and support would then be given to those countries that demonstrate the ability to satisfy these criteria within the limits of their capabilities.

The problem of indebtedness is still a major obstacle that obstructs the efforts of many a country in the areas of investment and job creation. Debt reduction would have a positive effect in this respect and would be a major step forward. My country would like sincerely to thank the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom for their assistance to Jordan in this respect.

A system of international incentives would serve to liberalize economies and world trade, thus promoting the private sector and reducing the role of government. This is a tremendous task involving some major responsibilities. Countries that are striving in this direction do that in order to relax the constraints imposed by debt repayment or to obtain external assistance. Consequently, it is important to make appropriate arrangements to support those countries in pursuing that path and help them by replacing those pressures with a more beneficial incentives system.

In conclusion, I should like to refer to the last report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations where he stated:

> "It is the people, on whose behalf we all act, who are the true custodians of the emerging new vision of development. It is for them that we must work to achieve a new framework for development cooperation and the revitalization of the United Nations system". *(A/49/665, para. 92)*

Mr. Batu (Turkey): Allow me first to join other speakers in thanking the Secretary-General for his report on the recommendations for an agenda for development (A/49/665), which is a follow-up to his earlier report, and for the World Hearings on Development.

For too long, the role of the United Nations in the economic and social field has been marginalized and confined more and more to the borders of its premises. The resurgence of new conflicts has forced the United Nations to put more emphasis on security/peace-keeping related issues, giving the erroneous impression that economic and social issues do not have the first priority in its agenda. With the end of the cold war and a growing constructive spirit in the international arena, we believe that the United Nations has every opportunity to recover the ground it has lost for elevating economic and social issues to the place they deserve in its order of priorities.

The end of ideological strife has also ended the compartmentalization of major components such as political, security and social issues. It is now mostly recognized that security cannot be viewed in political and military terms alone, and that peace and prosperity are indivisible. Against this background, we welcome initiatives to revive the United Nations role in development activities.

We have carefully studied the recommendations outlined in the report, to which my delegation subscribes and which we support. The report's concise and all-encompassing nature will be a valuable asset for the international community. It has to be accepted that peace and economic growth are the very foundations on which the remaining three dimensions, namely environmental protection, social justice and democracy, can flourish. And, in return, these can further nourish peace and economic growth in a sustainable manner.

It is obvious that development is carried out in an international arena with multiple players. However, every State and Government has to set its own priorities and must bear the prime responsibility for its development. No nation can expect others to carry out functions on its behalf. Here it has to be emphasized that the partnership of non-State players in civilian society, such as the private sector, community-based organizations and popular movements, is of growing importance. Only through these actors can the vast spectrum of the population be encompassed and development projects be worked out, planned and carried out. In this context, the dimension of democracy plays a crucial role.

The importance and impact of a favourable international setting cannot be overemphasized. The vicious cycle of poverty, overpopulation, lack of human and natural resources, environmental degradation and debt, in which the less developed countries in particular have been trapped, has to be broken.

Turkey, for its part, despite undergoing harsh economic adjustment policies, has initiated and participated in various international and regional economic- and technical-cooperation schemes within and outside the United Nations system to assist countries in transition and less developed countries.

There is wide realization of the need for an integrated and multidisciplinary approach, in order to implement in a tangible way the recommendations and goals of the Earth Summit held at Rio, the International Conference on Population and Development, held at Cairo, the forthcoming World Summit for Social Development, to be held at Copenhagen, the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held at Beijing, and the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), to be held at Istanbul.

We welcome the initiative for broader and more substantive cooperation between the United Nations specialized agencies and the Bretton Woods institutions. The United Nations — with its ability to raise public awareness, to provide information, to define the international development agenda and to build consensus, as well as with its neutrality, its unmatched global network of regional commissions and country offices and its immense delivery capacity — has a unique position and strength among international forums. However, it must also be borne in mind that there should be no attempt to harm its neutrality and effectiveness. It is much too easy to politicize the issues of development; if we do so, we might end up right where we started this exercise.

My country has shown its keen interest in participating, and its willingness to participate, in the endeavour to strengthen the United Nations in the social and economic fields by increasing its pledge for development activities by 20 per cent at the recent pledging conference. We look forward to a successful outcome on this agenda item.

Mr. Abibi (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): As I join in the Assembly's consideration of the Agenda for Development, I wish, like other speakers, to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the high quality of his recent report on this item.

The delegation of the Republic of the Congo endorses the important statement made at the outset of the debate by my colleague and friend Ambassador Ramtane Lamamra, Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, on behalf of the Group of 77 and China.

In my brief statement today, I shall basically lend support to some of the elements he discussed.

Document A/49/665, whose recommendations supplement those issued in May, contains proposals that mark an unquestionable step forward in the inevitably arduous process of formulating an Agenda for Development. My delegation is pleased that a number of milestones have been erected along the lengthy road on which we embarked in 1992. It is particularly heartening that development is now unanimously seen as the paramount task of the day, one calling for urgent, decisive, joint action by the entire international community.

We hail the growing consensus that the multiple dimensions of development must be addressed. Hence, economic growth, while an essential precondition for development, should not be an end in itself, but should be viewed as a powerful way of improving mankind's well-being, eradicating hunger, disease and ignorance, and creating employment for all. That approach, of course, obliges us to rethink international cooperation for development so as to furnish it with content and dynamism commensurate with today's challenges by lifting its burden of anachronistic dross.

It is vital that all partners, rich and poor, acknowledge the truth of one of the basic conclusions of the World Hearings on Development, that

> "sustained growth in the developed areas of the world depends also on raising living standards in developing areas of the world". (*A/49/320, annex, para. 18*).

In other words, the right approach to international cooperation for development is in the interest of both poor countries and rich countries. The United Nations system must promote this vision of international cooperation for development.

We agree with the Secretary-General's stress on the major role the United Nations should play in defining policies and in carrying out operations.

At this stage in the formulation of the Agenda for Development, the areas requiring action have essentially been properly identified. These include trade, debt-management, direct investment, capital flows, access to technology, subregional and regional cooperation, and other areas.

My delegation welcomes the fact that the heavily stricken continent of Africa holds a place of high priority in the Secretary-General's recommendations, and we greatly appreciate the general thrust of the document, which pursues further the in-depth analysis of the economic situations that prevail today through research into bold solutions to the problems that have been identified: that is true in the case of financing on which the Secretary-General suggests the convening of an international conference on the financing of development; and is true also in the area of debt management where he envisages simply writing off the debts of the poorest countries, among other measures. These initiatives have our support.

While taking into account the very large number of specific proposals made in the recommendations before us, my delegation believes that the debate on this important issue should be pursued in an appropriate setting with a view to drawing up a document that could be adopted in solemn fashion on the occasion of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

In the context of such an approach the various agreements already obtained on development issues should be taken into account and should serve as the basis for our common consideration of the matter in order to pave the way for an agenda for development that will be a genuine, resolute commitment by the international community, aimed at making decisive changes in the situation of imbalance between the developed and developing countries which is at present the salient feature of the world economy.

My delegation believes, as has been proposed, that a General Assembly working group, open-ended in its membership, is the appropriate intergovernmental setting for pursuing the thinking on this important issue and embarking on negotiations on matters that are still pending in our methodical quest for a historic consensus on development which would serve as the basis for United Nations activities in the economic field as it celebrates its fiftieth anniversary.

Mr. Jilani (Pakistan): I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for his report entitled "Agenda for development".

The World Hearings on Development, held earlier this year, and the debate in the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council have helped us move the process launched two years ago towards concluding the agenda. The discussions that started with the adoption of General Assembly resolution 47/181 have set the stage for the elaboration of a United Nations Agenda for Development which takes into account existing realities. As we are about to start the fiftieth year since the creation of the United Nations, it is appropriate for the General Assembly to review the role of the United Nations in development. There has been a manifold increase in demands on the United Nations system, in some cases in unrealistic proportions, with no concomitant increase in resources. It is essential that, based on the provisions of the Charter, the United Nations prioritize and synthesize its role in development.

The original vision of the United Nations sought security from war and universal economic and social well-being. Chapter IX of the Charter stresses

> "With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being, which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations ... All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the Organization" *(Articles 55 and 56)*

for promoting

> "... higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development". *(Article 55)*

In complementing the Agenda for Peace the United Nations agenda for development should, therefore, deal with the question of insecurity arising from, *inter alia*, chronic poverty. The agenda would constitute a comprehensive policy framework integrating socio-economic development and, therefore, introducing security through development.

The world economy is once again at a major turning-point. The Bretton Woods structures, constructed after the Second World War, have, no doubt, made a substantial contribution to the significant growth of the world economy. But economic prosperity has spread unevenly and unequally. The world economy is dominated by the major industrialized Powers. Their fiscal, trade and political decisions and interaction have had a considerable impact on the political fortunes — and misfortunes — of the developing countries. The gap between the developed and the developing countries has continued to increase.

We agree with the Secretary-General that economic growth is not an option, it is an imperative. In the absence of growth there can be no real development. Social progress and poverty reduction are impossible over the long term in the absence of economic growth. The upward trend in economic growth figures is encouraging. The impact of the long recession of the past few years was felt most starkly in the developing countries. It has been most serious for the weakest and most vulnerable economies — with stagnating prices for their commodities, a high debt burden and inadequate development financing compounded by natural and man-made disasters. The agenda for development, in its attempt to define the concept of development, must underscore the critical importance of growth in any development strategy.

Since 1945 the development of developing countries was promoted on the basis of explicit and implicit commitments by the industrial world expressed in various political declarations and documents, including the International Development Strategies. Development was to be promoted by three principal instruments: access to finance; access to markets; and the transfer of the technology and skills required for development, as the world economy achieved greater efficiency and productivity on the basis of comparative economic advantage.

The concept was, however, never applied in its pristine form. Access to markets, money and know-how has always been unequal. An examination of the trends in financial flows over the past four decades reveals the asymmetry in the distribution of investment resources in the world. Similarly, trade access has been highly unequal for the developing countries.

A fair and open international trading system is, ideally, the basis of development activities. The conclusion of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations leading to the elaboration of rules to ensure that international trade is free and fair is a positive development. While this may strengthen the ability of smaller countries to resist unilateral and discriminatory trade measures, such as voluntary restraints imposed by the developed countries, we need to pursue efforts for the elimination of all protectionist measures.

At the same time, there is a compelling argument for preferential treatment, for transitional periods, for the more disadvantaged States. This would mean greater coordination of macroeconomic policies not only among the developed countries but also between the developed and the developing countries. Efforts should be made to correct the existing external and fiscal imbalances, promote non-inflationary sustainable growth, lower real rates of interest and make exchange rates more stable and markets more accessible.

Official development assistance has to remain an essential source of concessional aid to the developing countries, particularly to the poorest and the least developed ones. It is a matter of deep concern to the developing countries that donor aid programmes have seldom achieved the internationally agreed target of their gross national product. This is further compounded by the unfair conditionalities imposed by the donors. The Agenda for Development must stress that the official development assistance should provide exactly what its name suggests. Arrangements in world finance must be worked out, offering greater equity in the distribution of international liquidity to all countries and significantly enhancing development financing, which is indispensable for economic development. It is a matter of grave concern that the financial commitments made to the United Nations development system have been declining steadily. In this context, the Agenda for Development must call for new and innovative modalities for funding.

There was great hope as the cold war ended that the release of resources from reductions in military spending would increase the budgetary balance of the industrial countries and that they would therefore be able to devote part of the benefits to development. Unfortunately, the diversion of the reduced military resources to development efforts has not actually taken place. It is important, therefore, to maximize resources for development by allocating a proportion of the reduction in military expenditures to development. In this context my delegation would strongly support the Secretary-General's recommendation to convene an international conference on the financing of development.

The burden of debt-servicing payments has severely constrained the possibility of realizing accelerated growth and development. Finding a solution to the debt problems of the developing countries should be one of the important aspects of the Agenda for Development. A case exists for the total or substantial cancellation of the debts of the least developed and low-income countries.

It is important for the Agenda for Development to provide for an enhancement of opportunities for the transfer and application of modern technology to economic and social development. Policies and measures in this regard should not militate against the capacity of developing countries to utilize scientific and technological development. Methods must also be found to provide access to and transfer of technology on concessional and preferential terms, particularly to the developing countries.

Confronted with immediate fiscal and monetary problems, most developing countries are constrained to implement structural-adjustment policies. This severely erodes their ability to pursue programmes for social and human development, thus adversely affecting the most vulnerable sector of the population of the developing countries. What we need to promote is people-centred sustainable development, with special emphasis on promoting balanced socio-economic development, human development and poverty alleviation. In this regard the international community has recognized on innumerable occasions that the eradication of poverty in developing countries should be given the highest priority in development. While effective domestic policies are important, a supportive international economic environment is also crucial for the success of the efforts of developing countries to eradicate poverty. In this regard the international community and donor agencies must implement technical-cooperation programmes for human development without imposing conditionalities and unfair practices.

The agreements reached at the Rio Summit constitute an important advance towards recognizing that equitable development and environmentally harmless development are twin imperatives. The fulfilment of the global commitments to achieving those imperatives is therefore very important.

The General Assembly, since the adoption of resolution 45/264, has been involved in reviewing the institutional mechanisms and the intergovernmental bodies with the objective of revitalizing the role of the United Nations in the economic and social fields. Decisions taken as a result of these processes have, however, not been able to ensure a more integrated approach to development. It is evident that such processes are becoming an end in themselves rather than a means of achieving greater coherence. The entire discussions relating to resolution 48/162 were based on the assumption that the restructuring of the governing bodies of United Nations funds and programmes would lead to a basic stability of resources for operational activities for development. The results to this effect have not been evident. Continuous debates on restructuring will not help to solve our problem. There has to be a commitment by Member States to ensuring that implementation of the decisions taken by them would ensure the viability and critical role of the United Nations in development.

We should like to see the following specific elements included in the Agenda for Development: first, there should be an agreement for a non-discriminatory world trading system; second, official development assistance should remain the essential source of concessional aid; third, new and innovative modalities should be found for fund raising; fourth, development-assistance programmes should be driven by the priorities of the recipient countries rather than by goals determined by the donors; fifth, resources should be maximized by allocating a proportion of the reduced military expenditure to development; sixth, the problem of the external indebtedness of the developing countries should be solved; seventh, foreign direct investment should constitute the most significant source of external finance; eighth, opportunities for the transfer and application of modern technologies for economic development must be enhanced; ninth, people-centred sustainable development must be stressed; and, tenth, global commitments made at the Rio Summit must be fulfilled.

In conclusion, we agree with the Secretary-General that the fiftieth session of the General Assembly would be an appropriate occasion for launching the United Nations Agenda for Development. In this context, we would also like that session of the General Assembly to consider the proposal of the Brazilian delegation to convene an international conference on development.

Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia)(*interpretation from French*): We welcome the appearance of the much-anticipated report of the Secretary-General, "An Agenda for Development." As we know, that document was produced at the specific request of the developing countries, countries whose concerns are focused on development — indeed, we may say that development is their principal concern.

Hence, we are aware of the real value of the contents of this document, which has been revised in the light of the comments and thoughts expressed by the Group of 77 in the Ministerial Declaration adopted in June 1994. The Agenda is the product of high-level discussion within the framework of the World Hearings on Development held in June 1994 by the President of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, and was given further consideration at the substantive session of the Economic and Social Council. The Agenda we are discussing today reflects the multitude of inputs and the diversity of approaches of all who helped to draft it.

The multitude of inputs has not affected its value because the agenda as a whole is focused on development. Therefore I wish to offer heartfelt congratulations to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the high quality of the report, which is both concise and thorough. The recommendations included in the annex to the document are all valuable; they are the culmination of the work done and deserve to be discussed and supplemented in order to decide on practical measures that are action-oriented, enabling us to move from the idea stage to practical planning.

The agenda for development, which is the counterpart to "An Agenda for Peace", contributes to renewed dialogue in the multilateral sphere at a time when the opening of all countries to a market economy and the consolidation of interdependence are the main economic characteristics of the end of this century. The globalization of international relations cannot but enhance the role of the United Nations, which is pivotal in this new relationship because of its universal character, its democratic mission and its contribution to development.

Therefore we share the view of the Secretary-General contained in the recommendation on the role of the Organization as a forum that can fashion a consensus, design macroeconomic policies and take action for development.

In this framework, improved cooperation and expanded joint activities by the Bretton Woods institutions and the United Nations should be institutionalized in order to rationalize their contribution to the development of the developing countries. Joint initiatives could be taken for a better division of labour in drawing up policies and carrying out activities to promote effective action at the economic, social and development levels.

The cooperation proposed in the report of the Secretary-General between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions, which is a commendable initiative, nevertheless seems to be somewhat limited since it encompasses only the following areas: poverty-reduction strategies, the granting of micro-credits, improving productivity in the resource sector and in the development of sustainable energy; socially and environmentally responsible structural adjustment programmes; strengthening capacities and improving public-sector management; and the promotion of development as a means of preventing conflicts, of peace-building and of post-conflict peace-building.

Greater interest, more dialogue and improved coordination do seem possible to us in the other three dimensions of development advocated by the agenda: the economy, the environment and social justice.

Regarding the suggestions to revitalize the Economic and Social Council, Tunisia cannot but support any proposal that seeks to enhance the role entrusted to this body under the Charter of the United Nations. Accordingly, increased coordination between the Council and the United Nations specialized agencies would be a valuable contribution towards attaining the goal of strengthened action by the United Nations for development. Along the same lines, Tunisia wishes to stress its commitment to the universal and democratic nature of the United Nations, which makes the Organization a unique, indispensable forum for exchanging views, for molding international opinion and the elaboration of the consensus that is necessary for implementing agreements on any framework for cooperation for development and any integrated approach in this priority field.

In this context, our commitment to increased universality, democratization and transparency in the Organization cannot but leave us skeptical about the usefulness of the recommendation contained in the report of the Secretary-General that seeks to establish an expanded bureau of the Economic and Social Council that would meet inter-sessionally to discuss basic issues such as ones relating to development. This bureau, even in its expanded form, would mean a significant drop in the number of States participating in the discussion, whereas our countries put their faith in the transparency, universality and democratization of United Nations bodies. However commendable it may be, the proposal does not seem to us to be urgent enough to deserve adoption within the context of this agenda.

Bearing in mind the thrust of the Secretary-General's report and the wide-ranging debate it has given rise to, as well as the need to see the development objectives of the developing countries taken into account in any approach towards action to be undertaken, Tunisia considers that the implementation of the agenda for development must be based on development and the growth of the developing countries.

In order to do this, transfer of technology; foreign investment; a comprehensive solution to the problem of debt, including the recycling of the amount of the debt and of debt servicing in co-development projects; the partnership between North and South; and, lastly, South-South cooperation — all are sectors that need to be part of any programme or plan of action that seeks to implement the objectives of the agenda.

Likewise, we hope that the programme of action that will emerge from the agenda will reflect the aspect of trade between various nations. Accordingly, the entry into force in the coming months of the agreement that will establish the World Trade Organization should provide an opportunity for close cooperation between that body and the United Nations in order to help to expand trade and trade flows, and that will certainly be a positive factor in the growth and development of the developing countries. Turning specifically to Africa, I wish to refer to the recommendations of the African Ministers for Trade at their latest meeting in Tunis, from 24 to 27 October 1994.

The Tunis conference, which reflected the determination of the African leaders to adapt the economies of their countries to changes we are witnessing in the international economy, also provided an opportunity to launch an appeal to the industrialized countries and the international financial institutions to guarantee to African countries the assistance they need to implement the Marrakesh agreements.

I wish to salute here the renewed interest shown by the Secretary-General in his agenda on the question of the development of Africa. The taking into consideration in his report of the resolution of the Economic and Social Council relating to the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s is an initiative that we support.

The establishment of a study group that will determine the main initiatives to be taken for Africa is a step in the right direction. We believe that the work to be done here should focus on specific objectives and problems and be oriented towards mobilizing support from the international community for the development and economic recovery of Africa.

Finally, I wish to stress that a new agenda for development must be also based on individuals. Economic development is an absolutely central factor, but we must take into account the balance and harmony that must govern any programme in this area, stressing education, health and social welfare as well as improving the role and status of women.

Since development is closely linked to improved living standards, the elimination of hunger, disease and illiteracy and guaranteed jobs for all are basic goals. Just like the economy and peace, environmental protection and the promotion of sustainable development are important factors that will determine our future in both the developed and the developing world.

We must focus on these aspects of development which are the very basis of sustainability and which must be basic components in any implementation of the agenda for development. Accordingly, we believe that the Organization should focus its action on the basis of agreements concluded during major international conferences, on the relationship between all aspects of sustainable development that have not been analysed sufficiently and on recommendations for providing a precise framework of action in the agenda.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): The Nigerian delegation welcomes the opportunity to participate in the debate on an "Agenda for Development", on which the representative of Algeria, in his capacity as Chairman of the Group 77 and China, has already made a statement. My delegation lends full support to that statement. We would, however, like to make some additional remarks from a national perspective.

Recalling the Secretary General's report on "An Agenda for Peace", we believe that his follow-up action and recommendations on an "Agenda for development", contained in document A/49/665 dated 11 November 1994, are most timely. In expressing our views on an Agenda for Development, my delegation would like to pay special tribute to the Secretary-General as well as to all those who contributed to the successful conduct of the World Hearings on Development, held in New York from 6 to 10 June 1994. The World Hearings on Development noted widespread concerns that the new international trading system arising out of the Uruguay Round may not produce the desired benefits, especially to many developing countries. Africa would undoubtedly be worst hit by this reservation, as the continent accounts for about 2 per cent of world trade and only 1.4 per cent of world exports. Although we have noted that the Uruguay Round of the multilateral trade agreement is expected to provide long-term benefits, we cannot but refer to the suggestion credited to a renowned British economist, Lord Marshall, when he stated that "in the long run we may all be dead". For us, therefore, an Agenda for Development must seek to address problems in the short run as well as in the long run.

As a concept, development seeks to underscore the principle of the right to existence, which is the fundamental right of every human being. For us in Nigeria, development is not an agenda item for general debate, but rather it constitutes the very basis of our existence as a stable, dynamic and prosperous nation. We therefore suggest that an Agenda for Development should be seen as providing a new opportunity for the international community to address vigorously and comprehensively the key problem of widespread poverty and the inability of many to secure the basic requirements of life such as food, shelter and clothing for the individual. In this context, efforts made to address the crisis of development particularly in the developing countries have over the years reflected different perceptions by the industrialized countries of the North on the one hand and the developing countries of the South on the other.

The Secretary-General had identified five basic elements of development: peace as the foundation, the economy as the engine of progress, the environment as a basis for sustainability, justice as a pillar of society, and democracy as good governance. In line with our own national approach, people must be at the centre of governmental activities including the goals of development. In our view, development cannot really take place in an environment devoid of peace and security. In this context, democracy by promoting the culture of tolerance and diversity becomes a prerequisite for development. None the less, the parameters of the democratic process must be defined in an evolutionary but pragmatic manner, taking fully into account the political and socio-economic circumstances as well as the values of a people. They cannot be externally contrived or imposed on any country by another or by a group of countries.

We agree with the Secretary-General that the basic responsibility of bringing about change and thus enhance development and progress amongst the people rests with national Governments. We also share the view that this can only happen if national Governments accompany a vision for development with the necessary political will to actualize that vision into an overall commitment to improve the living conditions of the people — all the people — but paying particular attention to the needs of women and the family. For us in Africa, the challenges of development have reached a critical point in the face of civil strife, low commodity prices, an increasingly and crushing external debt burden, massive poverty and low industrial base. The situation therefore calls for the formulation and implementation of credible national policies as well as development in a mutually beneficial partnership with industrialized countries. In this regard, an Agenda for Development represents for Africa an important opportunity to set a course for international development cooperation for the remainder of the decade of the 1990's and even beyond.

Against the background of the enormous and rapid changes in the international political and economic environment which have brought new and urgent demands into the focus of international cooperation, the need has become even more urgent for a global Agenda for Development. To this end, the international community has a duty to create a global consensus and evolve a sustainable culture of development in the minds of the peoples of the world. With the growing interdependence among nations, an Agenda for Development should focus on ways and means to overcome constraints that prevent the generation of political will at the international level necessary for genuine partnership in global development.

In meeting the goals of development, Nigeria believes that the globalization of the world economy is a process that must be encouraged. We need to arrange the *modus operandi* of international economic cooperation more efficiently and, in this context, to re-evaluate the role of the United Nations as we approach the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. While we are all agreed that the basic principles of the United Nations enshrined in its Charter remain as valid as ever, there is at the same time a widespread feeling among Member States that the United Nations system needs to be effectively reformed and further democratized, without which we cannot meet the challenges of the future.

Towards this end, Nigeria believes that the Bretton Woods institutions should be brought closer to the United Nations system for increasing coordination in order to enable the international financial institutions to pay increasing attention to the broad global objectives of development, as set out in the Charter of the United Nations. In this respect, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund must seek and find increased cooperation with a revitalized Economic and Social Council.

We wish to recall that, since the World Summit for Children, the international community has had its attention focused on environment and sustainable development, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; on human rights, in Vienna, Austria; on the sustainable development of small island developing States, at the Conference in Bridgetown, Barbados; and on population and development, at the Conference which took place in Cairo, Egypt.

These global concerns are timely and very welcome. We must, however, match our words with concrete follow-up actions. Therefore, as we look forward to next year's World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen, Denmark, the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, and the 1996 international Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) in Istanbul, Turkey, it is our expectation that the international community will quickly take action to implement the decisions and programmes adopted at these conferences; by providing the necessary financial resources. We believe that the demonstration of political will by the international community in this collective endeavour will set the pace for global development up to the year 2000 and even beyond.

Mr. Acharya (Nepal): Our fifty years of experience in international peace and security, development, democracy and human rights prove beyond any doubt that development, especially sustainable development, is the key to the general well-being of the people of this world. It is now clear that without economic growth and development the best negotiated peace settlement would, at best, be fragile, still leaving overall security in danger. It is also understood that in the absence of development in the political, social and cultural areas democracy and human rights cannot be fostered. Furthermore, through experience we have understood that development in the social, political, cultural and other areas is contingent on a country's economic growth and sustainable economic development.

The latest report of the Secretary-General on "An agenda for development" (A/49/665), together with his earlier report (A/48/935), clearly indicates his efforts to draft the Agenda. My delegation commends the Secretary-General's reports, which have outlined a number of extremely important areas requiring our attention. The Secretary-General's summation of general recommendations for the following actions deserves the special attention of the international community: first, that Governments, intergovernmental institutions and the

United Nations need to review their priorities with a view to providing necessary attention and support to development; secondly, that poverty eradication is the goal of development; thirdly, that a new framework is required for international cooperation for development; and, fourthly, that the United Nations must play a major role in both policy leadership and operations.

My delegation is of the view that it is now time for the Member States themselves to sit at the table and decide whether the four distinct recommendations of the Secretary-General are adequate prior to launching the Agenda for Development. One of the most important questions before the Assembly is the role we would like to assign to the United Nations in international development cooperation. Such a decision would greatly help in defining the roles of the Bretton Woods institutions and other development actors in the regional and international arenas under the proposed new framework. My delegation does not see any problem with poverty eradication being the goal of development, especially when we are discussing the issue of development — particularly of the developing countries.

While we appreciate the important contribution made by the report of the Secretary-General, we also recognize its shortcomings. When the goal of development is said to be the eradication of poverty, how can the report remain silent about the problems of the least developed countries? The report does not clearly provide an agenda regarding the treatment of the various consensus agreements and conventions of the United Nations in the new framework for development. My delegation believes that there is an absolute need to incorporate the outcomes of past, ongoing and future summits, conventions and conferences in the Agenda for Development. The implementation of the agreed programmes of actions, and future programmes, clearly calls for the financing of these activities. In this regard, we fully support the need for an international conference on the financing of development. The ongoing work on the funding of operational activities for development could provide important input for the conference. In this context, my delegation would like to express its view that the post-cold-war peace dividend can be an important source of development financing.

An Agenda for Development must be a comprehensive agenda. It cannot focus on some areas and ignore the others. It has to take into account all aspects associated with the genuine requirements of the developing countries. It has to be clear as to the institutions handling policy, operational and field activities. It should also be clear as regards the financing of development. Much more work needs to be done to come up with a comprehensive development-agenda package acceptable to the developed and the developing countries. In this regard, my delegation fully endorses the call of the Chairman of the Group of 77 for the establishment of a high-level open-ended working group.

Mr. Mabilangan (Philippines): The Philippine delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his two reports on an Agenda for Development, which we believe ought to be read together. The first discusses concepts in detail; the second offers concise recommendations. We agree with the Secretary-General that

> "Development is the most secure basis for peace". *(A/48/935, para. 3)*

There is much substance in the Secretary-General's reports. He restates what Member States have painstakingly considered and articulated over the years in historic consensus documents and in various resolutions of the Second and Third Committees. We also expressed our views at the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council session this year and during the consultations conducted by the President of the General Assembly. None the less, we should like to focus on some points that we consider significant.

First, with regard to human development, we hold firmly that development is a right. This is because man is at the heart of development. As every person has a right to life, so must he have a right to perfect his life — a right to total human development. Since a nation is an extension of man's social nature, a nation, too, has a right to development.

Unless we agree on this basic philosophical premise, we shall find it difficult to agree on the logical implications of an Agenda for Development. Development means raising the quality of life of peoples. To begin with, a person's basic physical needs — food, nutrition and health, as well as clothing and shelter — must be met. At the same time, his psychological and intellectual needs should be addressed progressively. This means a stress-free childhood and primary and, possibly, secondary education. With regard to physical and mental faculties, a person's will must also be honed, so that he may make choices with confidence. In the final analysis, the human being is most human in a milieu where he can exercise his will.

With regard to national development, the more fully human every person is, the more developed his nation becomes. The primary responsibility for a person's development rests with that person. As a corollary, every nation is primarily responsible for its own development. But in a community of nations, the international community, too, must share in the responsibility of ensuring the development of all its components.

With regard to international cooperation, the developing countries must be helped, particularly by those that have achieved a higher level of development. The development of all nations will lead to a more fully developed world. The concept of multilateral action and mutual benefit are cardinal. Developing countries can — and, indeed, do — help developed countries. Interdependence is by no means a one-way relationship.

The international community must strive to establish and maintain an economic environment in which developing countries have a chance to thrive and develop, where the gap between developed and developing countries is progressively bridged.

Any good agenda, having responded to the question "Why?" in the first place, must address at least four other focal questions: "What?", "Who?", "How?" and "When?"

With regard to "What?", the Secretary-General's reports refer to a multitude of items that could be similarly addressed by an Agenda for Development. These include poverty, trade, agriculture, industrialization, financial flows, official development assistance and external debt.

We believe that the eradication of poverty, particularly of extreme poverty, is a matter of the highest priority. The eradication of poverty and other issues have been the subjects of many discussions in the past. There is no need to redefine them, but there may be a need to verify their dimensions and to achieve an even more profound insight regarding their impact, not only on national economies, but also on the social and political stability of nations.

Moreover, it is necessary to re-emphasize the linkages between these problems and to understand that their causes lie not only in the ineptitude of developing countries, but also in the macroeconomic policies and trade strategies of developed countries, as well as mammoth transnational corporations.

Action to deal with these issues has also been discussed and agreed upon. Commitments have been made. Any discussion of an Agenda for Development should avoid the renegotiation of commitments, unless these leave room for more drastic and improved action.

With regard to "Who?", the actors involved in the various development issues were identified in Agenda 21. They include men and women, youths and even children. Important roles are to be played by Governments at all levels engaging in democratic and participatory sharing; regional and sub-regional financial and economic-cooperation institutions; non-governmental organizations; multilateral financial institutions; and international organizations. The United Nations and its programmes, funds and specialized agencies are very significant actors.

Identifying individual players is one thing; enhancing motivation and cooperative endeavour is another. Even more important is coordination to ensure that work is properly distributed on the basis of comparative efficiency.

The question "How?" is significant, for if our discussions are not to be sterile they should be action-oriented, and the action must be concrete, specific and pragmatic. It must be geared to results. We should learn from our successes and our failures. Where we succeed, we should continue along that road; where we fail, we should devise new ways of addressing problems.

With regard to "When?", unless we set deadlines for ourselves we tend to procrastinate until the impetus of our commitments is dissipated. We should set time frames for ourselves — realistic time frames that are flexible and capable of revision, but firm — as a means of gauging our sincerity and our effectiveness.

Having made these points, I should like to dwell for a while on a few that my delegation considers also to be of great importance.

The first concerns the country strategy note. Granting that each country has primary responsibility for its own development, we think it imperative that it prepare a blueprint for its vision of its people's future — a blueprint that is ambitious because it must transcend the status quo, but realistic because it must build upon available resources. Such a country strategy note should include programmes and project clusters that may need to be funded from external resources. These programmes and projects should be presented in such a way that potential donors may readily see how they fit into the strategic vision of the country, and how and to what extent they might be of assistance.

Second, with regard to country specificity, just as developing countries have many problems in common, different developing countries have different development aspirations and different development strategies, according to their personality contours. An Agenda for Development should recognize country specificity. Although it must, of necessity, work on the basis of common denominators, its conclusions should have flexibility of implementation in different development milieux.

Third, on the question of South-South cooperation, developed countries, despite their technological advancement and financial superiority, are not necessarily best at providing assistance. In many cases, developing countries are in a better position to understand the aspirations and problems of other developing countries and are thus better able to provide them with technological assistance and even financial aid.

South-South economic and technical cooperation can ease the burden of developed countries, but it may not be so effective when it relies exclusively on the limited resources of developing countries as when it is supplemented and aided by developed countries.

Fourth, there is the question of capacity-building. The individual is both the end and the means of all development efforts. No matter how abundant a country's natural resources, how advanced its physical and capital equipment or how readily available the financial wherewithal, the level of its development remains low as long as the capacity levels of its people are low. Only when capacity levels are raised, when self-confidence is fostered, can peoples and nations be self-reliant. Capacity-building is a very significant aspect of people empowerment and international competitiveness, not to mention readiness to cooperate and collaborate in international macroeconomic policy-making and development efforts.

It is in this context that an Agenda for Development could properly address the issues of training in science and the transfer of technology on terms that developing countries could afford without jeopardizing the intellectual property rights of the originators.

It is also in this context that an agenda for development might address the issue of centres of excellence, and of all means to improve the minds, the skills and the capabilities of men and women, of youth and of children throughout the world.

Fifth, on the financing of development, an international initiative to achieve development for all countries according to a realistic time frame requires the allocation of financial resources. Consideration of the financing of development — with consequent commitments — is indispensable.

Sixth, mere economic growth does not mean development. Economic growth is an engine for development, a very important means to achieve development. Without the benefits of economic stability, of economic prosperity, a nation and its people could not have the wherewithal to obtain the basic requirements for human and social growth. Such growth has costs, which can be met only through fruitful economic activity. Economic growth in aggregate terms is, however, not necessarily indicative of national growth. Very often, in developing countries, the benefits of economic endeavour are enjoyed by only a small percentage of the population. Because of this, traditional indicators are not very accurate in reflecting the quality of life of peoples. Other indicators must be developed to reflect a people's welfare and quality of life.

Sustained economic growth in itself does not give any indication of a nation's future development. Often, economic growth is achieved at the sacrifice of the environment and of means of production that will be critical for future generations. Economic growth, especially sustained economic growth, should not be at the expense of sustainable development. True development conserves and invigorates the nation's human resources and the environment.

Seventh, the Secretary-General speaks of "preventive" and "curative" development. We understand what he means, although the phraseology is not too felicitous to our ears.

We see the linkage of peace with development. We believe that there can be no lasting peace without development. However, we cannot accept that scarce resources should be utilized for peace-keeping operations and emergency-response measures at the expense of day-to-day development needs.

On the proposal for an open-ended working group, the Philippine delegation associates itself with the suggestion made by the Chairman of the Group of 77 that an agenda for development meriting the consensus of delegations and the highest political will of all Member States should be carefully studied. An open-ended working group, under the auspices of the General Assembly itself, should be created to study the Secretary-General's reports and their recommendations, as well as related documents, and to formulate our Agenda for Development.

Development, after all, is "another name for peace". It should command our highest priority.

Ms. Arystanbekova (Kazakhstan): Allow me first of all to express my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General for preparing and submitting his recommendations contained in document A/49/665, which follow up the report of the Secretary-General on "An Agenda for Development" issued earlier this year in document A/48/935. We would also like to thank Ambassador Insanally, President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session, for his efforts to conduct the World Hearings on Development based on the above report of the Secretary-General, and for summarizing the views expressed by the participants in the World Hearings and in other consultations in the document which we also have before us today — document A/49/320.

Mr. Blandino Canto (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The discussions on the issue at hand during the forty-seventh and forty-eighth sessions of the General Assembly, at the World Hearings for Development and at the high-level segment of the 1994 substantive session of the Economic and Social Council clearly showed the very broad scope of an agenda for development, matched quite understandably by a similarly broad spectrum of opinions and approaches to it.

It was not an easy task to scrutinize all the views aired at the above forums and at the same time to maintain the gist and major thrust of our collective thought and vision on the issues of development.

My delegation believes that the new report of the Secretary-General (A/49/665) represents a serious attempt to reflect in a concise and unbiased manner how an agenda for development is discerned in different parts of the world, what are its components and priorities, and what are the possible tools and means which will make the goals of global sustainable development achievable.

On the basis of the emerging consensus on the priority and five dimensions of development - peace, the economy, the environment, justice and democracy, the Secretary-General has correctly formulated, in our opinion, the three key objectives of an agenda for development:

> "to strengthen and revitalize international development cooperation generally; to build a stronger, more effective and coherent multilateral system in support of development; and to enhance the effectiveness of the development work of the Organization itself — its departments, regional commissions, funds and programmes — in partnership with the United Nations system as a whole" *(A/49/665, para. 12).*

The Republic of Kazakhstan strongly supports the premise that the coherent and consistent combination of development efforts at the national and international levels is the logical way to ensure the most productive international development cooperation through a new partnership based on the commonality of interests and mutual needs of all countries.

The Government of Kazakhstan is fully alive to the many challenges which were brought to its agenda along with the independence. Today we are aware of the initial underestimation of the substance and costs of the transition process and realize that the central focus of transition policy should not be directed to the mechanical application of this or that model of restructuring of the economy, but rather on finding tools and setting conditions for the creation of a sustainable civil society and economy having normal relationships with the rest of the world, and improving the welfare of its people. In other words, this wider policy focus is to ensure that Kazakhstan becomes a fully fledged member of the established and emerging international institutions and markets, where people are fully empowered and capable of participation.

We believe that this wider approach, reflecting two universal interacting trends of this century for strengthened national identity on the one hand and internationalization and globalization on the other, should guide the strategies of all countries.

All agree that the end of the cold war is a very significant and major turning-point in world affairs. With it come many new opportunities, but many new challenges as well. The early post-cold-war years teach us that we should remain sober and clear-minded in the face of these new opportunities, and at the same time we should not be dismayed by the new challenges and should avoid attempts to lay the blame for them. After all, philosophically we all are responsible for our history, as we are for our future, and understanding this will provide a solid basis for our collective action.

Kazakhstan acts accordingly and tries to make its contribution to fostering regional and international cooperation. Strengthening international economic cooperation is an important component of the initiative of our President, Nursultan Nazarbayev, on Asian security and cooperation — the convening of a conference on interaction and confidence-building measures in Asia. My Government was among those which called for the early economic integration, on a new basis, of the entities in the territory of the former Soviet Union and which proposed promoting this integration through the realization of Kazakhstan's new initiative on the creation of a Euro-Asian union of States. As a sign of recognition of the regional and global benefits of cooperation with developing countries, Kazakhstan joined the Economic Cooperation Organization, and it actively supports current efforts to revitalize this regional organization. In its attempts to emerge as an equal and reliable international partner, Kazakhstan is eager for the support of the international community through recognition of its challenges and aspirations and through real partnership with all countries.

In order to achieve the first objective of the development Agenda and to ensure the success of international development cooperation, two things are indispensable, as is rightly stated in the report (A/49/665) of the Secretary-General. They are the elaboration of an effective multilateral development system with the United Nations as its core, on the one hand, and the enhancement of the Organization's own development activities on the other.

Ironically, it is only after 50 years of our Organization's existence that its original mandate in the social and economic fields, enshrined in the United Nations Charter, has a chance to be fully realized. Although today's world is very different from what the founding fathers of the Organization saw while designing and conceiving the United Nations, my delegation believes that this chance should not be lost.

The first half-century was not wasted by the Organization, and it has developed a long and substantial record of activities in the social and economic fields. Given the universal nature of the United Nations and its extensive worldwide machinery in these fields, the Organization is best fit, in the opinion of my delegation, to play the role of the centre of the multilateral development system. Another question is how the Organization should adjust and adapt itself in order to fulfil this role. The consideration of this important issue should not be postponed for too long and should benefit from views, both positive and critical, expressed at different international forums on the development activities of the United Nations.

But we should not mislead ourselves. Serious consideration of different proposals on how to ensure the central role of the United Nations, how to enhance its internal capacity to act as the core of the multilateral development system, and how to bolster its fruitful cooperation and effective coordination with the Bretton Woods institutions and other actors in the development field will be worthwhile and productive only if there is a real political commitment by all Member States to vest the United Nations with such responsibilities.

If that is the case, Kazakhstan's delegation will support the recommendation to upgrade the standing of the General Assembly as the principal organ formulating policy guidelines in the field of international development cooperation. My delegation also believes that the level of General Assembly debate on social and economic issues should be upgraded accordingly. While supporting in this context the idea of convening every few years special sessions of the Assembly on major aspects of international cooperation for development, my delegation once again invites its colleagues in this Hall to support the initiative of Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev to convene, within the framework of the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization, a special session on the problems of the post-conflict era.

As regards improving the development activities of the Organization itself, my delegation recognizes the importance of improving overall programme coordination and policy coherence within the Organization at all levels. We therefore support the Secretary-General's intention to use the United Nations Development Programme as an important arm in this endeavour, as well as his proposals to strengthen the resident-coordinator and country-driven approaches.

No one would question the great importance of ensuring the availability and predictability of adequate financing for global development activities. We believe that serious consideration should be given to the many sound proposals made in this regard.

The discussion of the report on an Agenda for Development has gone through different formats and stages, each producing interesting and sometimes unorthodox ideas. My delegation notes in this regard the contribution made by the World Hearings on Development, the open and informal nature of which proved to be quite fruitful. Each stage inevitably brought us closer to an understanding of the priorities and ultimate goals of development. No one would question today the five dimensions of development as defined in the Secretary-General's report or that an individual and his well-being and interests stand at the centre of development. Our collective thought has produced various definitions of development — sustainable, curative, people-oriented, preventive — which correctly reflect this multifaceted phenomenon.

My delegation believes that the process of defining the optimum agenda for development has been set in the right direction. A continuation of the collective quest, which is never counter-productive, will eventually enable us to define and agree upon ways and means to achieve the common objectives of global sustainable development. From this perspective, the delegation of Kazakhstan is ready to participate in the most constructive way in further deliberations on an Agenda for Development.

Mr. Mohamed (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My country's delegation fully supports the comprehensive and informative statement made on behalf of the Group of 77, at the beginning of the general discussion of this item, by the Permanent Representative of Algeria, Ambassador Lamamra.

We have been following with interest, since the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the reports submitted by the Secretary-General on his development initiative because we are firmly convinced that development and peace are intertwined. Development is the very foundation of peace and security. Although the Secretary-General's Agenda for Peace came before his agenda for development, we should hasten to adopt his agenda for development as the right to development is one of the most important basic human rights. As stated by the Secretary-General, development in essence must lead, at the end of the day, to more prosperity and to the eradication of hunger and disease.

The Secretary-General's report submitted under this item reflects the consensus of opinion on the fact that development should be given priority in any new framework of international cooperation. Such cooperation is necessary now more than ever before in light of the positive interdependence between developing and developed countries in terms of mutual interests, common concerns and shared responsibilities, which make it necessary for all countries to join ranks in dealing with issues that are of interest to all.

It is important also to stress the importance of economic growth as the motive power that moves development forward. A more rapid pace of economic growth in developing countries would help to achieve the economic, technical and social transformation that is needed for generating financial and human resources and appropriate technology, the three main pillars of development.

Allow me now to touch upon the Secretary-General's report in greater detail. On the whole, the report deserves our thanks and commendation. It dealt with the issue of development in all its dimensions and broached a number of issues of concern for many developing countries, especially the least developed among them. For example, we agree with the Secretary-General in that development should be defined on the basis of national priorities, and that every individual State bears the primary responsibility for its own development. We also agree with him in that it is necessary to have a favourable growth-oriented international setting for development and that external macroeconomic forces, namely trade, debt management, direct investment, financial flows and access to technology must support development objectives. In this regard, we commend the Governments of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands for achieving the 0.7 per cent of gross national product goal set for Official Development Assistance, a goal not achieved by many other industrial countries.

We also agree with the Secretary-General's statement in his report that a solution must be found for the problem of external indebtedness and with his proposal in this respect which is in conformity with the proposal made by the Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned Movement at their last meeting in Jakarta in August 1994. We agree with his assertion that countries in transition to a market economy should be supported by additional resources from the international community to enable them successfully to make that sensitive transformation. It is also necessary to hold the World Hearings on disarmament and development. We agree with the proposal made by the Secretary-General in paragraph 37 of his report calling for the convening of an international conference on the financing of development. We welcome in particular the Secretary-General's proposal regarding the cancellation of the debts of the least developed countries.

With regard to enhancing the relationship between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions, my country's delegation supports the proposal made by the Secretary-General to that end. We would like also to voice our appreciation with regard to the contents of paragraph 54 of the report on the policy conditionality for structural adjustment policies designed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. It may be appropriate for me here to mention that in Sudan, we have implemented ambitious structural adjustment programmes which were praised by the officials of the IMF themselves. However, we have been subjected to a great deal of political pressure that had nothing to do with economic considerations. In short, we all agree that structural adjustment and economic reform are necessary, but only if they are not politically charged.

The recommendations made by the Secretary-General on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in implementing development activities are acceptable. Politically and technically, the United Nations has the wherewithal to enable it to play such a role. It is, after all, an Organization based on the principle of universality. It has at its disposal an incomparable wide-ranging international network. In this context, we should strengthen the role performed by both the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, and enhance coordination between the United Nations system and the Bretton Woods institutions.

In conclusion, the situation in the least developed countries, especially in Africa, is cause for major concern. The countries of sub-Saharan Africa are exhausted by the burden of debt and debt servicing, which obstructs their development. Those countries lack also the infrastructures that would make development activities possible. Therefore, those countries should be accorded a special priority and a special chapter in the agenda for development.

We look forward to participating actively in the open-ended working group which will be set up by the General Assembly to discuss this important issue.

Mr. Rajkan (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish to begin by thanking the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on an agenda for development, document A/49/665 of 11 November 1994, which contains recommendations on strengthening the development activities of the United Nations.

I wish also to thank the Permanent Representative of Algeria, whose statement to the General Assembly set out the position of the Group of 77.

The report of the Secretary-General on an agenda for development is timely; it lays the foundations for action by the General Assembly at this and at future sessions. The formulation of an agenda for development, in conjunction with cumulative output of a number of United Nations conferences over the past few years, will provide valuable guidelines for the United Nations in working for the achievement of sustainable development in all its various aspects. This is a sound approach that will be practicable only through the concerted efforts of the international community to achieve internationally agreed objectives.

The debate on this item has made it abundantly clear that there must be major amendments to the agenda for development, so that it may take into account the national interests of all members of the international community. Only then would the Agenda for Peace and the agenda for development take their place as the two pillars of international development in the economic, social and environmental fields within the context of peace and justice.

The short time that has passed since the issuance of the report has not been sufficient to enable us to study it in depth. We agree with the representative of Japan that consideration by the General Assembly of the item should continue so that we may be able to reach some concrete agreement on the report's salient points next year, at the fiftieth session of the General Assembly.

My delegation wishes to emphasize the following points:

First, responsibility for any country's development and for the setting of its priorities lies first and foremost within the purview of that country's Government.

Second, as far as my country is concerned, my delegation has clearly stated, on several occasions, its position on the point referred to by the Secretary-General in part D of his report, "Financing for the future", specifically in paragraph 91, concerning a suggested fee on speculative international financial transactions and a levy on fossil fuel use (or its resulting pollution) in all countries etc. In this respect, we have set out our position in four points, namely: first of all, financing the protection of the environment against pollution should be viewed separately from any form of imposition of taxes on energy; as confusing the one with the other would make it possible for industrially developed countries to evade financial commitments under international agreements or resolutions, and would have a negative impact on the world economy in general and on the economies of developing countries in particular. In addition, such taxes, in actual fact, do not serve any genuine environmental purpose; rather they are bound to distort international trade in the energy sector and impede international efforts to liberalize international trade and revitalize the world economy.

On the other hand, we must emphasize an important fact: namely that oil is already much overtaxed. If we are to tax fuel on the basis of its carbon content with the aim of limiting carbon-dioxide emissions, we must reconsider the whole current system of taxing fuel. While new taxes are proposed on petroleum, coal — the cause of much worse pollution — continues to benefit from governmental subsidies.

We must also highlight the importance of considering the available economic measures in dealing with the question of climatic change from the perspective of the interrelationship between fuel, the environment, economic growth and the need for any proposed economic measures to be based on reasonable, well-balanced and comprehensive policies that would be compatible with the requirements of sustainable development and that would not inhibit economic growth or stymie the movement and growth of international trade.

Such reasonable, well-balanced and comprehensive policies dictate that all greenhouse gases without exception should be dealt with in a well-balanced manner from the standpoints of cost, efficacy and economic impact and that, in so doing, the measures relating to dealing with climatic change should be addressed on the same footing as the measures proposed for adapting to that phenomenon.

We are of the opinion that as far as financing is concerned, we should not go beyond the resources provided by voluntary contributions.

Third, my delegation finds that the question of military expenditure should be left to the discretion of national Governments, which alone can estimate their own arms procurement needs in the light of their own national-security requirements and external threats.

Here I should like to refer to a number of impediments to development in all its aspects, in many regions and in many hotbeds of tension that cause concern to the entire international community including my country. Since the end of the cold war, the world has been moving more quickly than ever before in the direction of sustainable development and peace, with special focus on international socio-economic growth. Yet there are those who are trying hard indeed to reverse that tendency, for their own selfish aims at the expense of others. Even more astonishing is the fact that some in the international community support and champion those who are trying to impede development. This inflames the situation further and causes the resultant conflicts to spill over and to spread in other regions.

Every nation has the right to cherish and develop its own culture, and to take pride in it as the source of its identity which distinguishes it from other nations. That should apply to all nations, so long as they uphold international principles.

It is not right that people of Bosnia and Herzegovina should face extermination just because they belong to a different culture. The Islamic culture, which is that of many nations, is a strong living culture whose aim is to improve the human being and to ensure his happiness. The unjust conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be halted immediately — justly and in the interest of all parties. In our view, there can be no compensation for the destruction of cultural centres, historic landmarks and intellectual treasures, and environmental, human and material losses brought about during the unjust war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The damage will not stop at the limits it has reached already but its grave negative effects will plague future generations. This indeed is a regrettable situation that brands all humanity with the sign of Cain and brands the international community with the shame of indifference.

It is true that intensive efforts have been and are being deployed by the United Nations to establish peace in different parts of the world. Those efforts, including the United Nations efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina deserve appreciation. However, it is high time the United

Nations stood more firmly and resolutely on the side of right in every part of the world without distinction. It is high time the United Nations championed right by deterrent force, because the Serbian forces, and the mercenaries that have swelled their ranks, continue to defy the will of the international community.

We welcome the recent Security Council resolution and hope that the United Nations will continue to deal with the situation with the same degree of firmness and seriousness. This is a situation that will cause grave damage and hatch so many problems that will spill over into the whole region if it is allowed to persist. The most immediate damage and the most urgent problems can now be seen in the area of trade between nations of the region whose trade relations have been totally disrupted.

There is also another situation that impedes development and peace in the Arab territories that have been under Israeli occupation since 1967, including the city of Al-Quds where the Israeli authorities are trying to change the demographic composition and efface all Arab characteristics through the confiscation of land and the building of settlements. The same applies to the other occupied Arab territories, including the Golan Heights. This is a situation which must be resolved as soon as possible in the interests of the peace process.

My delegation is certain that the Agenda for Peace will achieve its objectives much more comprehensively and efficaciously as and when the United Nations becomes able to put out the fires of dispute and conflict in many parts of the world.

Mr. Muthaura (Kenya): Let me at the outset associate my delegation with the statement made on this agenda item by Ambassador Lamamra, Permanent Representative of Algeria and Chairman of the Group of 77.

May I also thank the Secretary-General for his reports on an Agenda for Development, contained in documents A/48/935 and A/49/665, which reassess approaches to development and the role the United Nations, in coordination with the specialized agencies and the Bretton Woods institutions, should play in support of national and regional efforts to enhance development.

We welcome the exhaustive work which has been done in the preparation of these extremely important reports. We commend the Secretary-General and all members of the Secretariat who played an important role in their preparation. The reports have clearly attempted to define the role that the United Nations should play in realizing the Charter objectives in the area of socio-economic and cultural development. It is gratifying to note that they contain specific recommendations on the central coordination role that the United Nations should play in the area of development, and underline the fundamental responsibility of Governments to develop their countries. They also underline the importance of an enabling international environment and the necessity for effective external development support.

The latest report of the Secretary-General further urges that

> "development should be recognized as the foremost and most far-reaching task of our time." *(A/49/665, para. 4)*

and that development must be seen in its many dimensions with special emphasis on five — namely, peace, economic development, environmental protection, social justice and democracy. We agree with these sentiments with regard to the interrelationship between those dimensions, as there cannot be development without peace, nor can democracy or the enjoyment of human rights be sustained without socio-economic development and peace and stability.

Indeed, the challenges posed in the quest for development are many and complex. The advent of an Agenda for Development requires our positive vision of cooperation to be founded on the realization that, because of the growing interdependency of States, the revitalized and growing economies of developing countries will boost world economic growth and employment.

The recognition of development as a global phenomenon with multifaceted dimensions and numerous actors, requires the international community to adopt new measures and reinforce agreements and commitments already entered into. It requires broadened approaches which define the roles and functions of the different actors with a view to assigning tasks on a comparative advantage basis. The needed culture for sustainable development should put emphasis on addressing the underlying causes of underdevelopment and provide means to ensure recovery and sustainable development.

The General Assembly has in the past made numerous efforts to foster international cooperation in order to address the wide range of issues pertaining to development, but this fragmented approach has serious limitations in resolving complex socio-economic problems which developing countries continue to experience. However, important lessons can be drawn from these experiences. The integrated approach advocated in the Agenda for Development is a logical choice as the various dimensions of development cited in the report are interlinked, and therefore mutually reinforcing stimulants for sustainable development.

The integrated approach enunciated in the Agenda for Development is therefore commendable. In the case of Kenya, immediate past and current development plans adopt an integrated approach to planning while addressing sectoral developmental issues. Experience has shown that sectoral issues are affected by, and have ramifications for, other sectors. The resolution of such sectoral problems are therefore best sought by a multi-disciplinary and intrasectoral approach.

At the global level, the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development before it are good examples of an integrated approach to addressing related issues within the context of sustainable development.

The policy directions and strategies to take in order to stimulate development, however, should first and foremost remain the responsibility of individual countries, as there can be no substitute for effective and well-conceived domestic policies.

International cooperation for development, nevertheless, is imperative. The role of Governments, regional and international organizations, non-governmental organizations and civil society in general in development cannot be overstressed. Their individual and collective contributions towards policy leadership determine the rhythm of the development process in individual countries and regions. We agree with the view expressed in the report that the responsibility of the United Nations in this regard is a Charter obligation which the Organization should execute in coordination with the specialized agencies and the Bretton Woods institutions, but with decisive leadership by the Economic and Social Council.

Over past years we have seen the United Nations development responsibility eroded considerably, while the influence of the Bretton Woods institutions in the area of development has grown dramatically. Hence the importance of the elements identified by the Secretary-General as the basis for the recommendations presented in document A/49/665 in regard to the revitalization of development policy and the pertinent need to bring it into proper focus within the United Nations system.

In this regard, my delegation would like to see an enhanced United Nations as an effective instrument for development support. We agree that the United Nations is uniquely placed at the centre, with an elaborate network of country offices to shoulder expanded responsibilities in the area of development. We recognize, however, that international development cooperation can be most effectively managed on a decentralized basis at the national, regional and international levels. The commitment to achieving a tangible international cooperation is indeed desirable. Nevertheless, necessary precautions should be taken to ensure that increased coordination of development policies under the United Nations does not create unnecessary bureaucracy in the disbursement of development resources and the drawing up of country programmes. Development coordination should also avoid the tendency towards increased aid conditionalities.

Revitalization of international development cooperation can be effectively forged by the United Nations only through sustained development dialogue and the political will to resolve apparent problems. Major issues that need to be addressed include the eradication of poverty, the stabilization of commodity prices, market access, reduction of debt, debt-servicing, resource flows and transfer of technology. The North should cooperate not only on problems facing it but also on problems which the South is facing or which are of immediate concern to it. The recent successes in the international dialogue have provided important channels for international cooperation in tackling some of the global problems. In particular, the adoption of Agenda 21, the signing of the Uruguay Round Agreements at Marrakesh, Morocco, and the adoption of the Cairo Programme of Action on Population and Development offer international consensus on critical areas of cooperation.

The role of United Nations programmes and funds cannot be overemphasized, for their support complements national efforts and acts as a catalyst for other forms of assistance. Their financial and technical assistance through country programmes particularly targeted at capacity-building and human-resource development, as well as the application of science and technology, is a critical element for development. Such interventions enable many developing countries to increase their absorptive capacity for resource utilization for sustainable development. It is from this perspective that my delegation supports the Secretary-General's recommendation to emphasize the bottom-up, country-driven programming of development resources, which should be provided without conditionalities. This approach will ensure that developing countries that are participating in the United Nations development activities have taken national priorities in account.

The Secretary-General's report and the related United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s have further emphasized the urgency of taking special measures to speed up Africa's recovery and the integration of the region into the international economic system and technological processes. We support the recommendation for the outright write-off of Africa's debt and the least developed countries and for increased aid flows to stimulate investment and economic growth in that economically depressed region. Development support should match the courageous political and economic reforms which many African countries have been implementing in the last few years, despite the unfavourable international environment.

The restructuring of United Nations organs and programmes should be aimed at enhancing development activities. It is important to ensure that programmes retain their distinct identity and thematic focus. In this regard, we concur with the Secretary-General that there is an urgent need to increase the overall level of development assistance and to ensure that funding for peace-keeping, humanitarian emergencies and the global environment is provided from new and additional resources and not from development assistance.

The Agenda for Development will have a limited impact unless it is backed by adequate resources. In his report the Secretary-General expresses grave concern about the continuing decline in the availability of resources for development. Only four countries have fulfilled their 0.7 per cent commitment made 30 years ago. All the United Nations development programmes are currently cutting down because of shrinking resources. It is in the light of this discouraging fact that my delegation is strongly supporting the Secretary-General's proposal for an international conference on the financing of development to reverse the situation and put development in its proper perspective.

We also support the proposal to convene special General Assembly sessions to serve as mechanisms for review and follow-up, particularly on the agreed commitments that emerge from the international conferences. We further support the ongoing efforts to strengthen the Economic and Social Council and the recommendation that the entire Council should meet at a high level at specific times of year to provide general policy guidance and to review the work of an expanded Bureau.

In conclusion, my delegation associates itself with the view already expressed by other delegations that an open-ended working group should be set up to prepare a declaration on the Agenda for Development on the basis of the report of the Secretary-General now before us and the views of Member States expressed during this debate. It would be desirable for the working group to complete its work at the forty-ninth session so that the declaration could be adopted by the General Assembly during the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization.

Mr. Rovensky (Czech Republic): At the outset, my delegation would like to express its sincere appreciation for the Secretary-General's comprehensive report on an Agenda for Development. In our opinion the Agenda for Development is a realistic document that appropriately draws upon United Nations experience in the field concerned as well as on the extensive discussions and work carried out by many international forums, the academic community, the non-governmental organizations and others.

The Secretary-General's report provides us with two important subjects for discussion. First, there is the recognition of the intrinsic complexity of development as a global social phenomenon, and, secondly, there is the recognition of the profound need for a radically new type of global partnership among all those who are shaping the vast area of international political and economic cooperation in the present post-cold-war era. We are convinced that sustainable development is possible only on the basis of an equitable, truly rational and unbiased partnership of all countries of the world. To achieve that goal it is imperative that all outdated, inadequate or misleading political and economic schemes and stereotypes be abandoned. This, in our view, is the only approach, hard though it may be, by which the world can take a substantial step forward in its development.

Experience shows that it is not and will not be an easy task to achieve the ultimate objective of our work, that is, to create an Agenda for Development that will be practical in application and that will, at the same time, have a significant impact on development worldwide. We therefore note with considerable satisfaction the merit of our current mode of procedure in discussing and assessing the Secretary-General's report: from the high-level session of the Economic and Social Council to this current session of the General Assembly. We hope and expect that in the end our common effort will produce an answer to the paramount questions: how to push forward with our work on the Agenda for Development, and what guidance to offer the Secretary-General so that the praiseworthy ideas and principles contained in the Agenda will be swiftly and efficiently translated into concrete deeds.

Over the past four years, the Czech Republic, together with other countries of the Central and Eastern Europe, has gone through a process of fundamental political and economic transformation. The old system of a State-dominated, centrally planned economy has been replaced by new economic structures, driven more by the market and less by the State. The results of this process, which is now culminating, are very encouraging. Only four years after this fundamental change, which involved, among other things, the massive privatization of State-owned production facilities, the Czech Republic is out of the red, and the prospects for fast economic growth are more than promising.

After several years of decline and stagnation, for example, the Czech gross domestic product shows positive growth for 1994. This growth is expected to reach some 3 per cent in 1995 and increase in the following years. Our experience provides more positive proof that a well-thought-out and pragmatic economic policy, rational governance and leadership, together with hard work, provide the best foundation for a strong and growing economy. It is also our belief — and our experience proves this — that without these factors, the national economy cannot grow, regardless of external help and support.

On the other hand, we recognize the importance of international economic growth for any country aiming at full integration into the world economy and trade. This is especially important for small, export-oriented countries with few natural resources, of which the Czech Republic is an example. The expansion of our economic cooperation and trade ties with our European neighbours and with trading partners on other continents is a must if we are to attain, and sustain, a high level of economic performance and if we are to make our part of the world an important part of the global economy.

I very much agree with those speakers before me who emphasized that development already is, and must remain, a key item on our economic and political agendas. We believe that deep reflection on the evolution of our understanding of the phenomenon of development and its appropriate implementation at both the national and international levels is urgently needed.

Today's world is more complex than ever before, and the concept of development, therefore, has to be recast in the light of new political and economic realities and trends. For this reason, we fully support the concept of five principal dimensions of development: peace, the economy, the environment, social justice and democracy — described in the Secretary-General's report as being intrinsically intertwined.

The recent high-level discussions at the Economic and Social Council resulted in some concrete suggestions and some challenging ideas on key objectives and key elements of international development cooperation and on the particular role of the United Nations system. It is encouraging that views are converging on the nature of development and on what needs to be done. We are in favour of the idea of developing a comprehensive and well-structured menu of actions, at both the national and international levels, which will accommodate the different development needs of individual countries.

In respect to where the agenda can be strengthened, we would like to stress the following important issues: links between development and democracy, between governance and economic growth, between sustainable development and human resources development; the crucial importance of democracy in its broadest understanding; the role of the private sector and non-governmental organizations; the role of preventive diplomacy; and — last but not least — ways and means of improving and streamlining the institutions and structures of the United Nations system and their interaction with multilateral monetary, financial and trade institutions. The need to increase people's standard of living should be emphasized as the self-evident, ultimate purpose of economic growth within the concept of sustainable development.

The role of the State in the economy has changed significantly in recent years. We would therefore welcome a clearer expression of the fact that a stronger market orientation, supported by a well-balanced macroeconomic policy, efficient governance and democracy, has proved its viability.

The efficient functioning of the United Nations system is a crucial factor in ensuring the viability of the Secretary-General's report, "An agenda for development". One of the most important points made in the report is that, in the face of unprecedented global changes which

> "seem beyond the capacity of traditional forms of international management" *(A/48/935, para. 239)*,

the United Nations must find ways and means to become a key instrument for managing world affairs with a reasonable expectation of success. This aim, however, cannot be achieved without the successful conclusion and implementation of the reform of its socio-economic system. A lot of proposals made on the subject during our deliberations reach further than only coordination because, as it has been correctly stated, the coordination of parts of the United Nations system which are scarcely efficient in themselves is not a real answer.

Another problem which for a long time has been a serious impediment to the proper functioning of the economic and social segment of United Nations activities is duplication. It is high time to weed out all overlapping intergovernmental bodies in order to make our work as efficient and cost-effective as possible. A potential way of tackling this serious problem could be the merging of some United Nations bodies in the main sectoral fields. Proposed clusters could perhaps be trade, food and agriculture, environment, technical assistance and, lastly, investment and industry. These clusters would cover all the main subjects of United Nations activities in the economic and social spheres. Fine-tuning of the process of decentralization of decision-making, controlling and monitoring towards the regional bodies — not necessarily only the current regional economic commissions — could also contribute considerably to United Nations-based activities in this field.

There is another proposal that deserves thorough consideration: specifically, the organization of a consultative mechanism within the United Nations with the main actors in the international economy and trade, including transnational companies and banks.

Let me briefly summarize the views of my delegation on issues under our consideration. We fully support the concept of the five basic pillars of development, as outlined in the Secretary-General's report, "An agenda for development". We realize that there are no easy and simple answers to all the intricate questions and problems relating to concepts of sustainable human development; therefore, we must seek answers through a coordinated effort of the international community, under the leadership of the United Nations. A new understanding and acceptance of the principles of international economic and political cooperation, based on fair and unbiased international relations, should be a by-product of this effort. The outcomes of such a global effort could be a subject for debate during the next session of the General Assembly.

We are confident that the United Nations will seize this opportunity and take a leading role in the global effort to implement the concept of sustainable human development. However, whether or not the United Nations succeeds in this noble task will depend to a large degree on the willingness of all Member States to make the United Nations a truly effective Organization — functional, transparent, efficient and accountable. Streamlining the United Nations system structure and operation by making full use of modern management theory and practice must be the bottom line of all our efforts in this field. This task is of a very urgent nature.

It is our hope that this session of the General Assembly will lay down a solid foundation for the process started by the Secretary-General's report and that it will ensure that the agenda for development translates into a tangible contribution, not just to the development debate, but to the future role of the United Nations in global economic and social activities.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

United Nations A/49/PV.64

General Assembly
Forty-ninth Session

Official Records

64th Meeting
Tuesday, 22 November 1994, 3 p.m.
New York

President: Mr. Essy .... (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

Agenda item 17 (*continued*)

Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments

(j) Appointment of members of the Joint Inspection Unit: note by the Secretary-General (A/49/110 and Corr.1)

The President *(interpretation from French)*: As is indicated in document A/49/110 and Corr.1, the General Assembly is required, during the forty-ninth session, to appoint four members to fill the vacancies on the Joint Inspection Unit that will arise from the expiration of the terms of office, on 31 December 1995, of Mr. Andrzej Abraszewski (Poland), Mrs. Erica-Irene Daes (Greece), Mr. Richard Hennes (United States of America) and Mr. Kabongo Tunsala (Zaire).

As is also indicated in that document, the President of the General Assembly, in accordance with article 3, paragraph 1, of the statute of the Joint Inspection Unit, shall consult with Member States to draw up a list of four countries that would be requested to propose candidates for appointment to the Unit.

Having held consultations with the regional groups, I should like to communicate to the Assembly the following information.

The Chairman of the Group of Eastern European States has informed me by letter that the Group has endorsed Poland. As the Eastern European States have endorsed one country for one vacancy, that country — Poland — will be included in the list of countries to be drawn up. The Government of Poland will therefore be requested to propose a candidate.

With regard to the African States, in the light of the information provided to the Secretariat that there were several candidates for one seat, I requested the assistance of the Chairman of the Group of African States, by letter dated 19 October, to secure an agreement regarding its candidature for one seat in the Joint Inspection Unit by 15 November.

With regard to the Western European and Other States, I addressed a similar letter to the Chairman of the Group, requesting his assistance in securing an agreement regarding candidatures for two seats in the Joint Inspection Unit by 15 November.

I call on the representative of Ghana as Chairman of the Group of African States.

Mr. Lamptey (Ghana): The African Group was unable to select one candidate for the one Joint Inspection Unit post available to Africa. Therefore the African Group is submitting to the Assembly for decision the names of four candidates from Africa who are competing for the position. The candidates are Dr. Ahmed Mahmoud Yousif (Sudan), Mr. Ali Badara Tall (Burkina

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one month of the date of the meeting*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178. Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum. When the result of a recorded and/or roll-call vote is followed by an asterisk, see annex to the record.

Faso), Dr. Eugene K. Adoboli (Togo) and Dr. Anthony Ngororana (Uganda).

The President *(interpretation from French):* I call on the representative of Denmark as Chairman of the Group of Western European and Other States.

Mr. Haakonsen (Denmark): In my capacity as Chairman of the Group of Western European and Other States, I have the honour to inform you, Mr. President, and, through you, the General Assembly that on 27 June 1994 the Group endorsed the candidatures for appointment to the Joint Inspection Unit of Dr. Wolfgang Münch (Germany) and Dr. Erica-Irene Daes (Greece). At a later stage the United States of America presented the candidature of Mr. John Fox. On 13 September 1994 the then Chairman of the Group of Western European and Other States communicated to the General Assembly and the other regional Groups the endorsement of Dr. Münch (Germany) and Mrs. Daes (Greece).

This situation remains unchanged.

The President *(interpretation from French):* As the number of countries from among the African States and the Western European and Other States exceeds the number of remaining vacancies, I should like, in order to draw up a list of the three remaining countries, to consult with Member States through the procedure of holding an advisory vote by secret ballot to select one country from the African States and two countries from the Western European and Other States that would be requested to propose candidates for appointment to the Joint Inspection Unit. Although this advisory vote would not be an election, we would follow the Assembly's rules of procedure governing elections.

Are there any objections?

As I see none, I take it that the General Assembly agrees to this procedure.

It is was so decided.

The President *(interpretation from French):* In accordance with existing practice, the required number of countries receiving the largest number of votes, and not less than a majority of the votes of those present and voting, shall be included in the list of countries to be drawn up.

In the case of a tie vote for a seat, there will be a restricted ballot limited to those States that have obtained equal numbers of votes.

May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that procedure also?

It was so decided.

The President: I draw the attention of members to the fact that the following countries already have nationals serving on the Joint Inspection Unit: Algeria, for the African States; and Italy, for the Western European and Other States.

The names of these States should therefore not appear on the ballot papers. Nor should the name of Poland which, as mentioned earlier, will be included in the list of countries to be drawn up.

Before I request the Secretariat to distribute the ballot papers, I should like to remind members of the Assembly that we are now going to proceed to the selection of three countries: one from among the African States and two from among the Western European and Other States, which will be requested to propose candidates to fill the vacancies on the Joint Inspection Unit.

The Assembly is not, I repeat, not appointing members to the Joint Inspection Unit at this time. It is only selecting three countries which will be requested to propose candidates. Therefore, names of countries, and not names of individuals, should appear on the ballot papers.

I should like to repeat the names of the countries that wish to present candidatures. From the African States they are: Burkina Faso, Sudan, Togo and Uganda. From the Western European and Other States they are: Germany and Greece, which have also been endorsed by the Group of Western European and Other States, and the United States of America.

Ballot papers marked "A" and "B" will now be distributed.

May I request representatives to use only those ballot papers.

May I further request members of the Assembly to write on the ballot paper marked "A" the name of one

State from among the African States, and on the ballot paper marked "B" the name of two States from among the Western European and Other States for which they wish to vote.

A ballot paper containing more than one name from among the African States and two names from among the Western European and Other States will be declared invalid. Names of States on the ballot paper which are outside the relevant region shall not be counted.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Djacta (Algeria), Mrs. Chaves (Costa Rica), Mr. Mihai (Romania), Mr. Badanoro (Saudi Arabia) and Mr. Muñoz (Spain) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 3.45 p.m. and resumed at 4.50 p.m.

The President *(interpretation from French):* The result of the voting is as follows:

African States

Number of ballot papers:	174
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	174
Abstentions:	1
Number of Members voting:	173
Required majority:	87
Number of votes obtained:	
Burkina Faso	79
Sudan	35
Togo	33
Uganda	26

Western European and Other States

Number of ballot papers:	174
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	174
Abstentions:	1
Number of Members voting:	173
Required majority:	87
Number of votes obtained:	
Germany	127
United States of America	107
Greece	102

Germany and the United States of America, having obtained the required majority, will be included on the list of countries to be drawn up.

The President *(interpretation from French):* Since one seat remains to be filled among the African States, we shall now proceed, in accordance with rule 94 of the rules of procedure, to a second round of balloting, restricted to the two States from the African States that were not selected but obtained the largest number of votes in the previous ballot — namely, Burkina Faso and Sudan.

Ballot papers for the African States will now be distributed. May I request representatives to write on the ballot papers the name of the State for which they wish to vote. A ballot paper containing the name of a State other than Burkina Faso or the Sudan, or containing the name of more than one State, will be declared invalid.

At the invitations of the President, Mrs. Chaves (Costa Rica), Mr. Mihai (Romania), Mr. Badanoro (Saudi Arabia) and Mr. Muñoz (Spain) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 5.05 p.m. and resumed at 5.20 p.m.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	176
Number of invalid ballots:	5
Number of valid ballots:	171
Abstentions:	0
Numbers of members voting:	171
Required majority:	86
Number of votes obtained:	
Burkina Faso	130
Sudan	41

Burkina Faso, having obtained the required majority, will be included on the list of countries to be drawn up.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the members for their advice and assistance.

In accordance with article 3, paragraph 1, of the statute of the Joint Inspection Unit, Burkina Faso, Germany, and the United States of America will be requested to propose candidates for appointment to the Unit.

After holding the consultations described in article 3, paragraph 2 of the statute of the Joint Inspection Unit, including consultations with the President of the Economic and Social Council and with the Secretary-General in his capacity as Chairman of the Administrative Committee on Coordination, I shall propose a list of candidates to the Assembly for appointment.

I thank the tellers for their assistance.

We have thus concluded this stage of our consideration of sub-item (j) of agenda item 17.

Agenda item 92 *(continued)*

Agenda for development: special plenary meetings at a high level to consider ways and means of promoting and giving political impetus to an agenda for development

Report of the Secretary-General (A/49/665)

Note by the President of the General Assembly (A/49/320)

Mr. Kasanda (Zambia): Development has emerged as the most urgent and compelling challenge facing the United Nations and the entire international community. Development and peace are inseparable. In a real sense, development is the other name for peace. Thus, without development there can be no peace, and an agenda for peace is incomplete without an agenda for development.

It is against this backdrop that my delegation welcomes the recent report of the Secretary-General and his recommendations on an Agenda for Development, contained in document A/49/665. We commend the Secretary-General for his clear and comprehensive recommendations following up on his report (A/48/935) on an Agenda for Development of 6 May 1994. We have noted that his latest report and recommendations take into account the relevant views and comments on that report, including the statements made during the general debate of the current session.

Before presenting our comments on the Secretary-General's latest report, my delegation would like to associate itself with the statement by Ambassador Lamamra, the Permanent Representative of Algeria, who spoke on behalf of the Group of 77 and China.

We concur with the Secretary-General that development should be recognized as the foremost and most far-reaching task of our time. It should therefore command the sustained support and concerned commitment of the international community. We acknowledge the multidimensional nature of development. We recognize the importance of the five dimensions identified in the preliminary report of the Secretary-General on an Agenda for Development: peace, the economy, the environment, social justice and democracy. At the same time, we must stress the complementarity of all those dimensions. Development must be viewed comprehensively. Moreover, for development to be sustainable, all its dimensions must be addressed.

The consensus on the centrality of development and its significance for our common future should serve to revive and revitalize international development cooperation. Within this framework, the contribution of the multilateral system to development must be strengthened.

In particular, the role of the United Nations system in development must be enhanced. In this regard, we concur with the recommendation that the United Nations must realize its original mandate in the social and economic fields and bring development issues to the centre of its activities. To this end, the United Nations should be further reformed and revitalized.

We attach great importance to the role of the General Assembly in forging consensus on and providing political impetus to international development cooperation. We welcome the Secretary-General's recommendations in this regard. We hope that they will provide an opportunity for constant assessment of development activities and other aspects of international development cooperation.

My delegation would like to underscore the need for further measures aimed at revitalizing the Economic and Social Council in order for it to play the important role assigned to it under the Charter. The recommendations of the Secretary-General should be accorded due consideration in order to enhance the Council's role and effectiveness in the areas of policy and programme coordination, as well as in providing intergovernmental oversight of operational activities for development.

The Economic and Social Council should bring the specialized agencies into a closer working relationship with the United Nations. We therefore support the recommendations on strengthening links between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions. We believe that there is much scope for improved collaboration, cooperation and coordination between the Bretton Woods institutions and United Nations bodies in various areas, including poverty-reduction strategies, structural adjustment programmes and environmental protection.

My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General on the need for adequate and predictable funding for United Nations development programmes on a scale commensurate with the priority attached to development activities. We note with serious concern that the impact of United Nations development programmes and activities is undermined by financial constraints and unpredictable funding. To ensure the effectiveness of operational activities for development, we, the Member States, must fulfil our financial obligations and demonstrate our commitment to the challenge of development.

We support the recommendations of the Secretary-General relating to the establishment of a favourable international economic environment for the promotion of development in the developing countries, in particular the least developed countries.

My delegation supports the recommendations that past commitments relating to development assistance should be fulfilled. In addition, we support the view that the overall level of development assistance should be increased in order to provide the new and additional resources required for peace-keeping, humanitarian assistance and environmental protection. The importance of a comprehensive and viable solution to the debt problem cannot be overemphasized. We therefore support the recommendations of the Secretary-General in this regard. In particular, the debts of the least developed and poorest countries should be cancelled outright. This has been our longstanding position. It is our view that the proposed international conference on the financing of development should address the debt problem in a comprehensive and action-oriented manner.

The Secretary-General has identified in his report priority common goals, including Africa, the empowerment of women and poverty eradication, which could become the focus of the efforts of the United Nations funds and programmes with their agency partners. In this regard, we support his recommendations to provide greater momentum to development efforts in Africa in accordance with the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. We strongly believe that the New Agenda must be provided with resources commensurate with the commitments undertaken and the priority accorded to Africa.

In conclusion, we wish to endorse the recommendation to develop a framework for the implementation of goals established in United Nations conferences. In particular, we support the suggestion that:

> "Goals and targets should be synthesized, costed, prioritized and placed in a reasonable time perspective for implementation." *(A/49/665, p. 17)*

That recommendation and other key recommendations of the Secretary-General should be considered in detail by an open-ended working group, whose establishment we support.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): It is indeed a great pleasure for me to congratulate the Secretary-General on the preparation of his report "An Agenda for development: recommendations". While this year's high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council provided us with an exceptional opportunity to discuss some of the most relevant issues concerning the future tasks of the United Nations system in the field of development, the Secretary-General's report will help us give these tasks the more specific shape of agreed guidelines and recommendations.

We therefore are looking forward impatiently to working with other delegations in order to achieve a consensus on the role of the United Nations in the sphere of development, based on the Secretary-General's report and the provisions of the Charter. Two years ago, we focused in the General Assembly on another agenda — "An Agenda for Peace". Poland is of the view that the document before us should be on an equal footing and have comparable rank with the previous one, once it is approved, and perhaps further improved, by all of us.

As we stated during the debate in the Economic and Social Council, Poland fully supports the concept of development in its five dimensions, as outlined by the Secretary-General. The United Nations, in promoting the goals of development in this light, is in a unique position, as a universal forum, to facilitate a better understanding of emerging problems and to draft norms and standards in response to the constantly changing global environment. The United Nations provides us as well with the best institutional framework to promote human-centred, equitable, and socially and environmentally sustainable development.

No one should question or challenge those key tasks in the area of development. Their implementation requires an integrated approach, which, as my delegation has proposed on various occasions, in its institutional form should be translated into the merger of the Second and Third Committees of the General Assembly.

We are also of the opinion that the development agenda of the United Nations requires further streamlining. The proposal that the goals and targets of United Nations conferences be synthesized, costed, prioritized and placed in a reasonable time perspective for implementation will serve this purpose.

Turning to the operational aspects of United Nations activities, we acknowledge that the system has many strengths but also many weaknesses. The assets are, *inter alia,* its global network of representation, its expertise in many specific areas and its neutrality in action. Some of its weaknesses derive, paradoxically, from the same characteristics. That is why there is an urgent need for more focused operations by the part of the United Nations, which should concentrate on the areas where it has comparative advantages — and the Secretary-General has rightly pointed out some of them.

The mitigation of natural or man-made disasters and a requirement for immediate assistance to refugees are the best examples of cases for which operations of the United Nations, with its global network and political neutrality, are best suited. Those assets would be strengthened also by better coordination among all United Nations bodies and organs. In thematic areas, the recent attempts to coordinate United Nations agencies' activities in the field of HIV/AIDS require further encouragement and should serve as an example in other areas.

The United Nations has vast possibilities for forging links between peace-keeping, humanitarian assistance and development. Indeed, quite often the world community is confronted with a situation where a smooth transition from military conflict to sustained growth is needed. We wish to reiterate here our position on the need for the interaction of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. This would provide the United Nations with better prospects for carrying out preventive diplomacy in the economic and social spheres. Poland has been advocating that the Economic and Social Council be invited to submit reports to the Security Council on economic and social developments that are of particular importance to world peace, security and stability. Such a possibility is envisaged in the Charter, but this missing link, at both the substantive and the institutional levels, has never been explored. This question was recently discussed by the group of eminent experts working, under the auspices of the Ford Foundation, on the future of the United Nations. Ms. Hanna Suchocka, the former Prime Minister of Poland, participated in those discussions.

Mr. Mwaungulu (Malawi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

We noted with satisfaction that in the Secretary-General's previous report on the Agenda for Development special attention was placed on the link between development and human rights. We reiterate our proposal that the Secretary-General prepare an agenda for human rights. The observance of human rights is no longer considered as a moral imperative only. As His Excellency Mr. Julius Nyerere, the former President of Tanzania, said during the World Hearings,

> "If I were a donor country, I would never give aid to a dictator".

This is also an important factor conducive to development. Our own experience in this respect, based on a unique simultaneous transition towards a democratic and free-market society, definitely would be worthy of careful examination by the United Nations. Therefore it is with a certain regret that we note that the problem of transition — probably one of the most fascinating political processes and social phenomenon of the current decade — is considered only from the standpoint of additional resources for international assistance to countries undergoing this transition. Not only is an imaginative approach needed that would enable these countries to rapidly integrate into the world economy, but this process must also be seen from the perspective of its impact on the state of the world economy.

This impact has two dimensions. First, it provides opportunities for new economic expansion, new markets and new investment possibilities. Secondly, on a political level, it ends a long era of ambiguity over modes of development. There is no longer any doubt that sustained growth and, consequently, sustainable development can be achieved only on the basis of sound macroeconomic policies that are conducive to the flourishing of free enterprise and to the creation of a State in which individuals feel responsible not only for their own future but also for that of their family, community, State and planet.

One of the major issues in our debate on the Agenda for Development is the interaction between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions. The Secretary-General proposes several areas in which joint initiatives could take place. It is of great importance that this cooperation be developed also on the country level. Indeed, United Nations Resident Coordinators should develop cooperative arrangements with representatives of the Bretton Woods institutions in order to identify areas of comparative advantage for all the represented agencies of the United Nations family and thus achieve, in the most efficient way possible, the best results when assisting each individual country.

We note also, with much satisfaction, that some cooperative arrangements between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions are already in effect at Headquarters level. What I have particularly in mind is the functioning of the Global Environment Facility, which is operated by two United Nations agencies and the World Bank. It will be fascinating to watch more closely how this cooperation develops and what results are achieved. The particular way in which the Facility functions is due to its mixed system of representation, voting power and financial responsibility. This is an interesting compromise, and it might be worth considering if this kind of solution might also better serve certain United Nations organs as well.

At this time of rising globalization the United Nations provides us with a unique forum to build a feeling of coherence in the global community so as to avoid, as was brilliantly noted during the World Hearings by Jean Marie Guehenno, Permanent Representative of France to the Western European Union, the creation of a world in which individuals would feel crushed by a world community that they could not control. We hope that it is our common wish to let the United Nations play this role, and we need an Agenda for Development to help us achieve this goal.

Mr. Rodríguez Parrilla (Cuba): The present consideration of "An agenda for development" is, in our view, one of the most relevant issues in the work of the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

At the outset, allow me to express my delegation's full support for the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Algeria on behalf of the Group of 77.

The General Assembly's adoption of resolution 47/181 was followed by an intense, wide-ranging debate on the role and capacities of the Organization to fulfil, in the new global context, its responsibilities in the field of development. The dialogues carried out — first during the World Hearings on Development and later during the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council — made a significant contribution to the enrichment of this urgent discussion.

We appreciate the efforts made by the Secretary-General in the preparation of his report (A/48/665), which summarizes the debate and presents a set of recommendations that deserve our attention.

As we have said on previous occasions, the end of the cold war and the lessening of the danger of global conflict, which until recently consumed a large part of the resources and potential of the international community and of this Organization, offer a new and urgent opportunity for the United Nations to devote itself more energetically to the promotion of international economic cooperation for development as one of its high-priority objectives.

Nevertheless, the emphasis placed on the implementation of the concepts contained in the report, "An Agenda for Peace", and of related ideas still diverts most of the Organization's efforts. In this regard, we view with equal concern the idea of considering United Nations activities in the field of development as a mere extension of its functions in the political, military and humanitarian fields.

The concepts of preventive and curative development place the global problem of development in that restricted dimension and sidestep the need for long-term action to eliminate the causes of structural underdevelopment and create an international climate that would complement national development policies and strategies. In fact, taken as a continuous and multidimensional process, development is an indispensable condition for peace. Hence, the preparation of the United Nations "An agenda for development" should not be oriented as if it were a mere supplement to "An Agenda for Peace", but rather a fundamental instrument to articulate concrete proposals for efforts towards the necessary development of the countries of the third world.

Neither is it necessary or appropriate to try to "reinvent" development. We must resist the temptation of succumbing to a sterile and counterproductive debate that could only delay the taking of immediate action. From a conceptual standpoint, both the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade and the Declaration adopted at the eighteenth special session of the General Assembly, complemented by the agreements and commitments reached at the Rio Conferences and more recently the Cairo Conference, constitute the general policy framework for progress in international cooperation for development.

Cuba supports the efforts to continue improving system-wide coordination as a necessary element for ensuring the attainment of development goals. In addition, it is still essential for that process to be implemented in a way that preserves and respects the independence and the mandates of United Nations organs, agencies, funds and programmes, in conformity with the Charter and the legislative mandates derived from the restructuring process in the economic and social sectors.

All of this is essential, with regard both to the different intergovernmental mechanisms and the restructuring of the Secretariat itself. Measures taken in the context of the restructuring process in those sectors and falling within the framework of resolution 48/162 underscore the role of the organs of intergovernmental machinery, while also being geared towards the revitalization of their work. Hence, we consider it neither necessary nor proper to continue an institutional restructuring exercise with ideas that have already been rejected by the majority of Member States. Persisting in such efforts would only divert us from our central priorities in the field of development.

In our view, "An agenda for development" must focus on the search for ways and means of making it possible to give impetus to long-term economic growth and the sustained development of the developing countries, thus creating the bases for ensuring an environment of stability, security and peace at both the national and international levels.

On the basis of the existing international consensus, the Agenda must contain effective proposals that foster the implementation of commitments undertaken. It is also indispensable to establish the parameters for a new type of relationship between developing and developed countries in which the former would also be dynamic agents of the development process.

Moreover, elaboration of the Agenda must also involve issues of trade, finance, the transfer of resources and technology and their relationship with the development of the developing countries. Multilateral action by the United Nations in these fields must also be reinstituted and promoted.

The United Nations is in the best position to deal broadly with this range of issues and to provide general policy guidelines to make development its top-priority issue. This is even more important because of the urgent need to make United Nations development activities long-term in nature, enabling them to go beyond the limited framework of the struggle against poverty or emergency assistance.

The commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization gives it an exceptional opportunity to adopt a coherent development agenda, which would be primarily a platform of practical measures and would renew the international commitment to establish a truly just and non-discriminatory form of cooperation for development.

We can countenance no further delay in finding a solution to the desperation of peoples who see the gap growing ever wider between the affluent and developed societies and that other world, that of the majority, of impoverished and underdeveloped societies. The voice of the United Nations must be heard once again in a field in which it has remained silent for too long. This debate, and the process that it inaugurates, should give us that opportunity. That is our will and our hope.

Mr. McKinnon (New Zealand): My Government would like to take this opportunity to express its thanks to the Secretary-General for the diligence with which he has pursued the General Assembly's mandate to prepare an Agenda for Development. The report which is now before us is the product of a lengthy series of discussions and debates in this body, in the Economic and Social Council and at the innovative World Hearings on Development, and of the input of specialized agencies and other members of the international community with an interest in development.

The report and its predecessors deal with both the conceptual and the practical aspects of development. The challenge for the international community has always been to find the appropriate institutional framework to bring together diverse perspectives on development and to provide a forum in which they can continue to be discussed. The United Nations has, as the report makes clear, a unique role in this enterprise, for it is the only organization in which all countries — rich and poor, large and populous, small and insular — come together on an equal footing. The United Nations must continue to provide the political measuring rod for the decisions on development taken nationally, bilaterally and in other multilateral forums.

For New Zealand a number of principles must underlie the international approach to development, and these will underpin the approach we take to the specific proposals for change set out in the Secretary-General's report. Any change must improve the capacity of the international system to deal with development issues. This means that we must avoid adding new layers of institutions without a clear understanding of the additional contribution they would make.

Secondly, any change must strike an appropriate balance between efficiency and representation in the bodies which govern development programmes or give policy direction to the Secretariat. This means that there is no point in compressing the governing institutions of the Organization still further if that will reduce the authority with which they speak.

Thirdly, any change must reflect the likely availability of resources to fund new programmes or arrangements. There is little point in elaborating new structures, dependent on significant increases in the funds committed to development, if such funds will not be readily available.

The Secretary-General looks at three levels of international cooperation for development in his report. I should like to say a few brief words on each of these.

First, on revitalizing international development cooperation, in his May report the Secretary-General set out five dimensions of development. These provide a useful guide to assessing the extent to which development policies are achieving their desired ends. Growth cannot be an end in itself. It must give rise to a more equitable and sustainable society if it is to continue. And that means that all sectors of society, not just Governments, must have a commitment to the development process.

In the international context, preference must be given to policies which support this outcome. We agree with the Secretary-General that a favourable, growth-oriented international setting for development is vital. Within that framework, we have to work to ensure that those resources which are committed to development assistance are delivered effectively, taking into account the variation in nature and scale of the development needs of recipient countries. Development programmes and donors must involve developing countries in determining priorities for development, and the most efficient use possible must be made of development funds. Any large-scale examination of development financing will need to address these issues. It will also need to take into account the desirability of partnerships with the business community, both national and international.

The Secretary-General identifies the Economic and Social Council as by right having a central role in the articulation of a new international consensus on development. Many of the proposals he puts forward for the further revitalization of the Council would repay examination in more detail. We would be sympathetic to the idea of an international development assistance review committee which he sets out. Associated with the recent decision to reduce the size of the governing bodies of the United Nations operational programmes was the commitment that the broad strategic overview of those programmes would be provided by the Economic and Social Council. The Secretary-General's concept would go some way towards realizing that ideal.

We can see merit in providing the Economic and Social Council with some continuity of existence outside its regular session. But we would need to look carefully at the advantages of adding another limited-membership body to those which already exist in this field. We certainly agree that if the regular functioning of the Economic and Social Council was to change in this way, the Council itself would need to meet more regularly to be able to discharge its responsibilities effectively.

In considering proposals for closer cooperation between the United Nations and the international financial institutions, we need to bear in mind that these institutions are fundamentally different from the United Nations in their nature, governance and core business. This of course does not relieve either side from the need to cooperate. Clearly, both sides should seize and create opportunities for substantive consultation. There are some limitations on the character of that cooperation, but in the establishment of the Global Environment Facility, the international community has demonstrated that it can develop novel ways to take advantage of the strengths of three different organizations. This is an encouraging precedent. There is also scope for cooperation at the country as well as the regional and global levels. Cooperation between the international financial institutions and the United Nations could provide a basis on which to look at economic reform in the broader context of achieving sustainable development.

We welcome the Secretary-General's proposals aimed at improved programme coordination through regular meetings of senior officials in the economic and social sector. We may not yet be at the end of the road in finding the best structure for the Secretariat, but this proposal will facilitate coordination in the meantime.

We also welcome the emphasis the Secretary-General places on the empowerment of women. The inclusiveness which should be at the heart of development cannot be taken very far if women do not have the central role which the Secretary-General identifies. But fine words are not enough. The United Nations itself must show the way by giving practical application in United Nations programmes to the principles of women in development. We welcome the Secretary-General's acknowledgement that the visibility, coordination, programming and accountability of the United Nations on these issues must be improved.

The Secretary-General has completed his half of the bargain. He has given us an Agenda for Development. Now it is for the Member States to respond, and in responding to develop a new consensus on development issues that will take us into the twenty-first century.

Mr. Camacho Omiste (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Bolivia wishes to share with members some of its thoughts on the Agenda for Development and the Secretary-General's report on the subject.

We note that there is a broad consensus in the Assembly to the effect that "development should be recognized as the foremost and most far-reaching task of our time" (*A/49/665, para. 4*). There also seems to be no major differences with regard to the affirmation of other general principles. None the less, problems arise at the stage of project implementation and assessments, which are carried out after a certain time, and which almost invariably lead to dissatisfaction with the results.

Bolivia considers that, like the maintenance of peace, cooperation is a fundamental duty in the international life of States. It is the corollary of the total global interdependence and the recognition of the common origin and destiny of the human race. Although in the past cooperation and solidarity were confined to expressions of a moral, religious or philosophical nature, in our day, the Charter of the United Nations and innumerable bilateral and multilateral treaties and declarations have given them legal and political form.

Cooperation is, therefore, both an obligation and a right of States — hence the importance of arriving at solid agreements for the implementation stage.

Insecurity, hunger, disease, illiteracy, poverty, environmental degradation, drug addiction, discrimination and injustice — all are problems common to all peoples and they therefore require urgent and coordinated action by all Governments and their specialized agencies.

World public opinion should be very clear on the fact that by international cooperation we do not mean the magnanimity of the developed countries towards the rest of the world, but the duty to meet common interests whose satisfaction is essential to ensuring survival on all sides and making possible a brighter future for all. In this endeavour, the United Nations is the universal body created for the purpose.

On this occasion, we shall not invent totally new formulas with regard to what has already been said in the past about cooperation for development. Nor would it be possible to change or replace what has already been affirmed on the matter. We all agree that the ideas and documents emanating from the United Nations since its inception contain a valuable collective heritage that must now at last be implemented.

On the basis of that premise, it is my delegation's understanding that the Agenda for Development proposed by the Secretary-General has made it possible to further our understanding of these problems, which we urgently need to do, and that it will become yet another point of reference, in addition to the ones already in existence but appropriate to the nature of the problems and the shape of the new international order in the post-cold-war period.

In the case of Bolivia, our overall approach to cooperation is complemented by the importance we attach to the participation of the people. We believe that in the final analysis, the future of peoples and their material and spiritual well-being, depends only on their own endeavours as the subjects and the objects of development.

As the President of Bolivia, Mr. Sanchez de Lozada said in this Hall, participation by the organized community is not only necessary but vital for the success of our programmes. It must be the community itself which through organization asserts its needs and monitors the implementation of its projects. In Bolivia, participation by the people will take the form of a radical administrative decentralization which will bring basic services, particularly education and health, within the reach of the population.

For this reason it is extremely encouraging for Bolivia to see that within the United Nations system there is also a trend rightfully towards giving pride of place to organized individual and collective participation as a vital factor of creative and positive change.

This conviction is not in contradiction of the importance we attach to international cooperation; rather, it gives cooperation a new life. Ultimately, all societies in the world, large or small, have needed external transfers of resources in order to launch their own development process.

No country in the world could totally do without external cooperation, since an input of material and human resources from outside is always indispensable. However, cooperation — rather than being based on exogenous factors — should be geared, with special emphasis, towards those countries that are best able to ensure that the cooperation is put to productive use, with the greatest multiplier effect and free of mismanagement or waste, thanks to the participation and control of the organized community. Those countries that implement participation by the people will be able to progress effectively and ensure that resources are not misused or squandered on absurd projects or misdirected along the channels of corruption.

These criteria for participation should be incorporated into the policies of the main institutions for cooperation and multilateral credits for development.

My country trusts that the United Nations 50 years of experience in the field of international cooperation will serve to correct the errors of the past and improve the standards achieved for the benefit of all.

The Agenda for Development should fulfil that mission.

Mr. Tejera Paris (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to thank the Secretary-General for his report on an Agenda for Development, in keeping with the General Assembly's request to submit his recommendations on this important sphere of international relations.

We are pleased to see that development in its broadest sense is viewed and recognized as "the foremost and most far-reaching task of our time" (*A/49/665, para. 4*), and that our efforts to fulfil it require continued and effective international cooperation. We share the distinction made in the report between growth and development. We concur with the assessment of its multidimensional character. We welcome the acknowledgement that social justice and democracy are an integral part of development. We agree, finally, that the United Nations can and should be an effective instrument to advance and consolidate development.

Many observations have been made about development: what it is; what affects it; and how to address the dilemmas that progress creates. Given the variety of views, we are pleased that the report of the Secretary-General recognizes the primary responsibility of each nation for its own development and the concomitant responsibility of Governments and the societies they represent to direct their efforts. National policies should be the focus of all multilateral development efforts, not vice versa. Development models have often revealed their limitations and even their errors. But with experience it has also been possible to identify the factors that are critical to every contemporary development process.

Two elements seem relevant in this respect. First, the sustainability of development as a dynamic process seems to be increasingly dependent on whether or not a national economy can adapt to global interdependence. At the same time, it is obvious that multilateral cooperation must facilitate and improve the way we manage factors that are beyond the capacity for national action and define its efficiency. This is indispensable in particular with respect to the world-wide macroeconomic context, to the permanent redistribution of comparative advantages, and to rectifying the imbalances associated with these forces in the areas of trade, finance and technology.

Secondly, because of that, reaching agreement between developed and developing countries on efforts in these areas is an imperative of the contemporary economy and a determining factor in development. Development is not merely a matter of cooperation or assistance in the traditional sense of transfers of resources or special treatment. Even though such policies will continue to be necessary, the long-term viability of development requires that the international economic system itself be organized to minimize the need to use such corrective or compensatory mechanisms.

We detect a certain complacency about advances in structuring international economic relations. The creativity and momentum generated to face the challenge of sustainable development are also needed in other spheres, no less important for being traditional. We need a long-term vision and a fuller understanding of the great changes under way as a result of new technology and the globalization of markets. Agenda 21, the Uruguay Round agreements and the establishment of the new World Trade Organization indicate how we might handle these far-reaching changes. Other critical areas are development financing, taking account of the new realities of financial markets and private-investment flows, and technological innovation and its effects on industry and services. They must be included in any consideration of development processes and their prospects.

In this context, we agree with the Secretary-General that the United Nations system must make full use of its technical capacities and its status as a political forum. In future, designing a new framework for cooperation for development should be its primary function. In our view, its central role in this process is beyond dispute. Clearly, the machinery of the entire United Nations system for consultation and for forging agreement needs to be adapted to these responsibilities.

The tasks of the Organization in the operational area seem to us to be different. International cooperation and assistance can relieve problems of the most varied kinds. While necessary, they have been shown to be insufficient to bring about the structural changes associated with economic development. We agree that the United Nations has a special responsibility in this sphere, so as to support national development programmes. Yet we feel that neither financing nor coordination of operational activities are really the crux of the problem of development.

We see the most significant contribution of the United Nations as fostering what the Secretary-General calls

> "a more effective management of global interdependence and the promotion of an integrated approach to economic and social development". (*A/49/665, p. 17*)

In conclusion, I wish to endorse the views of the Group of 77 on how best to follow up the report of the Secretary-General. We are certain that the intergovernmental process on which we are embarking will prove fruitful and constructive. The agenda for development that emerges from it will set a course for the Organization. We trust that, as we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, Member States will demonstrate their determination to make meaningful progress towards achieving the purposes that the Charter of the United Nations set-out for us all.

Mr. Marrero (United States of America): The United States warmly welcomes the Secretary-General's excellent report containing recommendations on the Agenda for Development. It is a model of clarity, succinctness and comprehensiveness. More important than its commendable form, however, is its substantive stress on the absolute necessity of country-driven, bottom-up development that is propelled by national priorities worked out through a partnership involving Government, civil society and strong private-enterprise sectors.

Accordingly, we agree that the focus of an Agenda for Development must be on building national capacities to plan, manage and implement development programmes in each country, recognizing that it is each country which bears primary responsibility for its own development. This is the principal message the Secretary-General's report conveys. We applaud it, and regard as particularly notable the Secretary-General's insights in identifying the five essential dimensions, or pillars, of development and describing the critical interconnections between them. We fully endorse both the conceptual and the practical underpinnings of these elements — peace, the economy, environmental protection, social justice and democracy — as basic for development. We also concur with the special emphasis on empowering women and reducing poverty as major objectives of development.

The Secretary-General has provided a worthy complement to the Agenda for Peace, and we hope it can provide the basis for agreement on realistic, practical proposals for United Nations reforms and other initiatives that we can begin to implement promptly. To accomplish this, however, we must avoid becoming distracted by controversies over proposals that, while attracting strong feelings, both pro and con, do not as yet reflect the basis for broad consensus needed for their adoption and effective application.

Among these problematic issues, I call attention to four which continue to present difficulties to my delegation: an international conference on financing development; massive permanent debt reduction; deadlines for development-assistance targets; and funding United Nations development assistance with assessed contributions. These issues are marked by substantial controversy, in some cases because they raise questions concerning the appropriate division of labour among international organizations with respect to monetary and finance issues. We hope these proposals do not become the focus of unproductive debate that will detract from consideration of other critical issues that command greater agreement.

The suggestions most deserving of our consideration cluster around four main concerns: the coherent implementation of major United Nations conference recommendations; further reform of the Economic and Social Council to make it an effective governor of United Nations activities; strengthened United Nations inter-agency cooperation; and enhanced effectiveness of United Nations operational activities.

From this perspective, the report's recommendations that are of greatest interest to the United States are those that address the following issues: coherently implementing United Nations conference recommendations by synthesizing, costing, prioritizing and scheduling their goals and targets within a common framework; further reforming the Economic and Social Council to enable it to serve as a unifying governing body for United Nations operational programmes and activities and as a mechanism for reviewing development assistance and identifying impending humanitarian emergencies; creating an expanded Bureau of the Economic and Social Council to meet between Council sessions — a de facto executive committee; using the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) to strengthen the coherence and impact of United Nations agency work — a de facto "cabinet" to drive coordination, cooperation and collaboration; and creating a more integrated, efficient and effective structure for United Nations development activities, with frequent meetings of all senior United Nations officials in the economic and social sectors — a de facto operations coordinating committee for development activities, chaired by the Secretary-General and organized by the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme.

Important related suggestions contained in the text of the report, but not listed separately, include: a call, in paragraph 55, for better donor collaboration through aid consortiums, consultative groups and round tables, especially in regard to compensatory and complementary efforts accompanying structural adjustment programmes; the recommendation, in paragraph 82, that consideration be given to a global watch system to provide early warning of impending emergencies and to lay down guidelines for preventive action; and the proposal, in paragraph 56, that the United Nations/Bretton Woods Liaison Committee be revived to enhance the process of substantive consultation.

The United States hopes that there can be quick agreement in principle on amplification and planning for implementation of these suggestions, which would go a long way towards our mutual goal of further enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations in the economic and social fields. It is particularly important, at this juncture in world affairs, with examination of the international economic architecture just getting under way, that the United Nations show itself to be a real contender with regard to major, long-term contributions to the global economic development effort.

It is critical that the United Nations pursue this objective without appearing to instigate unproductive controversy about the long-established assignment of roles and responsibilities among international organizations and institutions. Rather, the United Nations must be seen as promoting practical cooperation, coordination and collaboration within the main body of the Organization itself, between the Organization and the specialized agencies and programmes, between those agencies and programmes themselves and between the Bretton Woods institutions and the rest of the United Nations system. The suggestions that I have highlighted are those that the United States believes are most likely to help bring this about.

The unifying theme in bringing about practical collaboration among the diverse organizations and institutions engaged in supporting development lies in reliance upon the national sustainable development planning process first recommended in the Earth Summit's Agenda 21. Major donors, organizations and programmes — bilateral as well as multilateral — can best work together by cooperating in support of well-defined national strategies that arise from sound, responsible, democratic processes at country levels. Such an approach should be the basis for a spectrum of support from development assistance organizations.

The United Nations Development Programme, other relevant United Nations agencies and other appropriate donors would contribute to building the national capacity necessary for initiating and maintaining national development planning processes; the World Bank and other multilateral development banks would preferentially select, for financing, projects that fall within these comprehensive, coherent national schemes; bilateral donors would cooperate in support of realization of the national priorities identified and defined in these national processes; ultimately, foreign direct investment and commercial lending would respond to the opportunities offered by these coherent, viable economic development strategies.

Throughout the text of the Secretary-General's report there is language that speaks strongly of the intrinsic value of the country-driven, bottom-up, domestically created and maintained national sustainable development planning processes. This serves as the report's organizing principle. We believe that it would serve well as the organizing principle of environmentally sound, socially equitable, economically sustainable development.

Mr. Sychou (Belarus) *(interpretation from Russian):* My delegation regards the debate that is taking place in these high-level plenary meetings to consider ways of promoting and giving political impetus to the Agenda for Development as the culmination of the efforts in the first stage of the collective development of a new conceptual approach to a future, more pragmatic agenda for an international partnership in the economic, social and related fields, based on integrated goals and harmonized long-term priorities in the area of operational and other, broader activities. This task must be undertaken in the interests of worldwide development in the context of the ongoing institutional reforms and the forthcoming financial reforms in the United Nations system.

We commend the participation in this dialogue of the Bretton Woods institutions and of scientific and business circles and non-governmental organizations. This increases the chances that the principles, the concrete recommendations and the proposals that we hope will be developed on the basis of consensus will be supported outside the United Nations system — and this is important with regard to implementation of the Agenda for Development.

Our delegation, in its participation in the discussions on the first, conceptual, report, "An agenda for development" (A/48/935), welcomed the broad vision of development in its five main dimensions — peace, the economy, the environment, justice and democracy — and in their interrelationship. We note with satisfaction that that concept is fully reflected in the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's second report. We believe that the principles, the essence and the tasks of the emerging Agenda for Development should be set out in a more compact form and in a way that is more comprehensible to all participants in the development process.

In the case of Belarus, this would foster an appropriate direction for reforms in the country and would encourage correction in our national strategies and methods of switching to sustainable development and development on the basis of an open, competitive and socially oriented market economy, where questions of employment, social security, social integration, justice and the assurance of other human rights were the foundation of democracy and stability in our society.

In this connection, we cannot but put it on record that in both of the Secretary-General's reports on the Agenda for Development there is inadequate reflection of national policy and its influence on the international conditions for worldwide development. In the case of document A/49/665, I refer to Chapter II A. We agree with the conclusions that national development can succeed only if it is driven by national priorities, that each State bears primary responsibility for its own development, and that development requires competent governmental leadership, a coherent national policy and strong popular support.

We agree with the overall thrust of the recommendations concerning the important role of Governments, non-governmental organizations, the private sector and other social movements in new approaches to development. However, each country and its State structures and people are entitled to decide their priorities and their development models. All the actors — not just the State — should bear their share of responsibility for the social and environmental cost of economic progress. They should also be partners in the efforts, undertaken in conditions of democracy and sustainable development, to enhance the well-being of the people and the country as a whole and to protect the poor and the deprived.

We fully support the position that the main asset of any country is its people and that the individual and his well-being should be the object of development. This gives development its meaning, and justice is one of the main pillars of society. Unquestionably, sustainable development is possible only where there are favourable internal and international conditions. Both factors are necessary for the implementation of a national development policy in conditions of growing interdependence, pragmatic approaches and an active State role in those areas where the market, especially when it is just being established, does not provide answers to all questions.

On the other hand, we support the argument that national economic problems and successes have a global dimension. In this context, the success of international cooperation for development is inseparable from a responsible macroeconomic policy, especially in those countries with major economies and in international business circles. It is also inseparable from democratization of the machinery for harmonizing the economic policy with the economic policy of countries that have more vulnerable economies.

The new vision of the future Agenda for Development, which appeared during the course of the earlier discussions in the Economic and Social Council, in the course of the World Hearings, and during the general political discussion and debates in the Second and Third Committees at the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly, strengthens our conviction that no single international institution or no single country can by itself achieve new global and national development goals. What is necessary is a new partnership, a new spirit of cooperation and new pragmatic approaches based on solidarity, common interests, a joint but differentiated responsibility, and a mutually profitable division of labour. We welcome the fact that it is precisely in the United Nations that the development of an integrated approach to the problems of peace and development was initiated, and that it has been precisely in the United Nations that the formation of new frameworks of international cooperation for development has begun on the basis of a genuine global partnership.

However, as we see it, neither the awareness of a new development paradigm nor the formation of a new paradigm for international cooperation for implementing the future Agenda for Development is possible without taking into account the new realities, and without having an optimistic view of the future. That is the first requirement, on the basis of which we shall be participating in the future negotiations on the Agenda for Development.

The second extremely important requirement is that the framework for the new partnership should not be based on the theory of "three worlds" current during the period of East-West confrontation. It should not inherit the conflictual relations between the North and the South, that is, donor and recipient, which arose during the period of the early post-colonial period and the cold war, nor should it make use of outworn clichés, politicized terminology and the classification of countries according to their level of development.

On the basis of these two requirements, I should like on a preliminary basis to make what we consider to be important conceptual and specific observations.

First, our delegation notes the presence of a link between the United Nations International Development Strategy for the 1990s, the emerging Agenda for Development and Agenda 21, as well as other special interregional, regional and sectoral United Nations development programmes. However, the obligations agreed to and the policy for implementing them, including those that are contained in the Declaration on International Economic Cooperation, in particular the ones concerning the revitalization of economic growth and the development of developing countries, should be corrected in the light of more universal principles of new, just, global partnership. In particular, I have in mind the principles embodied in the Rio Declaration that was adopted at the Earth Summit — the Conference on Environment and Development — as well as other principles and obligations agreed at the recent Vienna and Cairo Conferences and those that will emerge from the Copenhagen and Beijing World Conferences.

The Agenda for Development should take into account to a far greater degree the new positive trends and the potential of all regions and countries to achieve national and international integrated development goals. This refers in particular to the growing potential for self-development and the cooperation between the developing regions demonstrated by a number of newly industrialized and rapidly developing countries in South-East Asia and Latin America. Expanding interregional cooperation, not only along South-South lines, but also in other interregional directions, the emerging machinery for transcontinental and open intraregional cooperation can, along with donor assistance and the new development strategy, facilitate the solution of the problems of the least developed countries, including small States and the poorest countries, especially in Africa.

I wish to emphasize that the implementation of the Agenda for Development will be possible only when the interrelationship and the joint responsibilities involved have been acknowledged. The lessons of the implementation of the three International Development Strategies show that the donor-recipient model leads to a strengthening of the creditor-debtor relationship, which in the long term leads nowhere. At least, our country would not want to integrate itself into a world economy with the status of an unreliable debtor and an endless recipient.

However, the realities of the new world are such that the poorest and smallest States, the least developed countries and some new States must request international support and assistance. If these and other countries are willing, or are forced, to continue to rely on the international community for traditional donor and creditor relationships, then the principles of those special relations should not extend to the future strategy for the implementation of all the components of the Agenda for Development. A more attractive concept is the Japanese strategy, combining differentiated and integrated approaches on the basis of the acknowledgement of the growing variety and increasing differences between countries and regions of the South, as was indicated not only by the delegations of Japan and Germany, on behalf of the European Union, and several other donor countries, but also by delegations from the traditional recipient countries.

Secondly, we cannot fail to agree with the argument contained in the Secretary-General's report that

> "Countries in transition to a market economy face special problems stemming from the need for rapid but sensitive transformation in fundamental economic organization, lack of competitiveness in international markets, economic depression and other factors." *(A/49/665, para. 29)*.

However, the only recommendation, namely that the international community should support these countries with additional resources — and, I would add, support them in a timely fashion — seems to us to be one-sided. It does not resolve the foregoing problems, not to mention the long view of the roles of the countries. We are firmly convinced that the list of priorities for implementing the future Agenda for Development should definitely include this threefold task: the full and profound integration of the countries in transition into the world economy; step-by-step assistance at the earliest possible stage of their efforts towards an irreversible shift to sustainable economic growth and development; and development of the potential for cooperation with all regions of the world. These three interrelated tasks are no less important than resolving the extremely acute global problems that face the developing countries. However, in the case of countries whose economies are in transition, this requires considerably less expenditure because of the potential they have in human and natural resources for their self-development.

I hope it has been remarked that some of the countries with economies in transition have described at this session the serious changes they have undertaken in their approach. They intend to move from a policy of mobilizing domestic assistance to a full fledged partnership, especially in the areas of trade, investment and scientific cooperation and the exchange of environmentally sound technology, and to shift in the long run to sustainable economic growth and development.

It is also very clear that these countries are making huge efforts to overcome the painful period of reforms carried out within extremely tight time-limits. They are also working to ensure their economic growth and to integrate themselves into the world economic system in order to make a contribution of their own to comprehensive world-wide development that is in keeping with the enormous potential for self-development in that region. In some of these countries the first signs of economic rebirth can be seen. Already today there are growing efforts to expand and deepen cooperation, not only with the industrially developed countries, but also with many developing countries on the basis of the principles of a new partnership for jointly bearing the costs of solving long-term aspects of development. It is clear that the growing participation of countries in transition with the new emerging multilateral system for development will even further strengthen the potential of that system, including within the framework of the United Nations. In the long run, assuming the success of the reforms and the full integration of the world economy, these countries will become major economic partners of both the industrially developed countries and the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean basin.

In this context, we feel that the Agenda for Development should adequately reflect the global dimension of the long-term consequences of the radical transformation of almost 30 countries in Central and Eastern Europe. These countries are not simply a new factor in a changing world economy that creates special problems. To consider the countries of the region of Central and Eastern Europe, including the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Baltic States, as mere recipients or mere competitors for resources would be, to say the least, short-sighted. It would be even more short-sighted not to assist these countries in achieving mutual cooperation or to deny them support in their further integration into a multilateral development system.

Thirdly, we would like to emphasize some of the recommendations in the report (A/49/665). Our delegation is convinced that integrated activities in the United Nations system for development should not boil down to assistance for development purposes. We do not dispute that primary attention in the United Nations programme should be devoted to the more needy countries, and also to the more needy population groups within those countries. It also requires more comprehensive study and an expanded interpretation of the idea of supplementing United Nations activities with new initiatives in the areas of so-called preventive and curative development. This also refers to the special initiatives for countries with a historically low level of economic development, as well as countries suffering from humanitarian and ethnic crises.

In our opinion, the task of reducing and eliminating poverty should include efforts aimed at preventing poverty and avoiding its further spread in all countries. As the representative of the country where the World Summit for Social Development will take place has so vividly stated: poverty is no longer the exclusive privilege of developing countries. Unfortunately, in the West and, in recent years, especially in the East, poverty and inequality have not decreased; rather, they have increased. Future guidelines for preventive and rehabilitative activities should, if required, ensure access to the potential of existing international machinery for all needy countries, regardless of whether or not they belong to a given country or region.

In the area of strengthening operational coordination — chapter IV C of the Secretary-General's report — the tasks should be broader in terms of their geographic scope and should be universal in terms of their overall interest. In particular, United Nations machinery should deal not only with humanitarian assistance and assistance for development, but with other forms of development activities in all five dimensions of development.

There needs to be much greater involvement of the five regional commissions in the area of sustainable development as well. In our view, a conceptual inadequacy of the recommendations of the Secretary-General and others is that there is too much emphasis on global machinery for assistance and an underestimation of the interregional and intraregional potential for a more comprehensive partnership as an extremely important precondition for establishing an open, balanced and broad multilateral system for development.

With regard to the recommendations on financial resources for future activities — chapter IV D of the report — our delegation has some serious reservations. We would like the principles and the proposals contained in paragraph 91 to be more detailed and to be more broadly discussed both within the Fifth Committee and in the special working group on new conditions for financing operational activities for development. This relates primarily to the idea of replacing the voluntary principle with a system of binding and agreed-upon contributions. In our opinion, one of the best ways for seeking new additional resources for implementing the Agenda for Development is to use savings achieved by reducing military expenditures. The proposals of the Russian Federation and Japan might serve as a basis for future efforts in this connection. We question the idea of establishing a so-called economic security council. This applies also to the recommendation that the Bureau of the Economic and Social Council should be expanded and that it should meet intersessionally. This recommendation might cause the same problems of transparency and participation as the Security Council and some reformed executive councils of the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Population Fund are encountering.

At this stage, when approaches for specific negotiations on refining the Agenda for Development are being identified, the main role, in our view, should lie with the General Assembly and with the Economic and Social Council — in particular, with the main negotiating groups of countries participating in the development of multilateral policies and recommendations for future development cooperation, including within the United Nations system.

We call upon the Group of 77 and the Non-Aligned Movement to follow to a greater degree the principle of the universality of our Organization bearing in mind the legitimate interests of other countries as well. We also welcome the more balanced approach to dialogue on development cooperation which has been demonstrated by the delegations of States members which has been demonstrated by the delegations of States members of the European Union, of the Nordic countries, of the Alliance of Small Island States and of other interregional and subregional groups, and also has been demonstrated by individual delegations from developing and developed countries that have advocated more constructive, universal positions, in the interests of all countries and not just individual groups, in the multilateral dialogue on various aspects of the emerging new vision of integrated development.

We express the hope that the high-level open-ended working group that it is proposed to establish at this session will achieve consensus on the Agenda for Development, as well as on the new strategy and the new partnership methods for implementing it. This will promote the consideration by the General Assembly at the fiftieth session of the matter of developing the kind of realistic machinery for development cooperation that mobilizes all Member States and also international institutions, organizations, programmes and funds within the United Nations system and those outside it in order to achieve — through agreed upon, coordinated efforts — the different, but nevertheless shared, development goals of all countries, in the name of progress and growth for all peoples and for mankind.

Mr. Cassar (Malta): Lack of development constitutes a threat to the stability of nations and consequently to international peace and security. Tragic events witnessed in many countries over the past years provide ample confirmation of this sad fact. The Agenda for Development complements the Agenda for Peace, and my delegation welcomes the pragmatic recommendations in the report of the Secretary-General. These recommendations are bound to generate further discussion. Action, however, is as critical as it is urgent. If the continued suffering and degradation of so many peoples is to become a memory of the past and not remain a reality only in the minds and hearts of future generations, the international community must renew and reinvigorate its efforts to address this issue through an integrated, global approach.

The right to dignity of all human beings is our starting point, and indeed the end point of collective action to overcome lack of development. Enhancement of the quality of life for all peoples should be and should remain the major focus of attention at the United Nations. An injection of effectiveness is required as we strive to translate our words into actions. This is what the Secretary-General's recommendations tend to underline.

A changed international environment has enhanced cooperation between and among States. Notwithstanding our diversity, as nation States, we view ourselves as independent, aware that the immensity of issues decided upon at the United Nations are integrated, affecting not only present but future generations. We realize that policies affecting human society are as intricate and as intertwined as nature itself.

In his report the Secretary-General identifies peace, the economy, environmental protection, social justice and democracy as the five dimensions of development. This integrated approach is a prerequisite to the achievement of development both at the national and the international levels. It provides the basis required if international assistance is to take root as a sustainable solution to the problems of poverty and lack of economic and social well-being. The provision of international assistance must be coupled with transparent practices to ensure that polices are effective at the grass-root level, where they are required most.

The United Nations system can and often does provide the institutional framework wherein such development action is made effective and beneficial to the overall goal of peace and security. My delegation welcomes the recommendations of the Secretary-General calling for a revitalization of the Economic and Social Council so that it may better fulfil its role as envisaged in the Charter. The General Assembly has a major responsibility in identifying those issues critical for international cooperation and policy development and hence should remain the major forum for the discussion of development issues.

An ongoing dialogue and substantive partnership between the Bretton Woods institutions and the United Nations is essential for enhanced cooperation. My delegation welcomes the expansion of World Bank lending into the social, environmental and other sectors. We view capacity-building, decentralized planning and participatory lending schemes as a means towards the achievement of increased development that addresses grass-roots concerns and needs.

The sectoral and technical agencies of the United Nations already provide a substantial degree of support to development activity. Their efforts to achieve sustainable solutions should continue to be integrated fully into the economic and social plans and priorities of the United Nations system. When properly integrated into the overall framework of the United Nations system they provide a valuable source of expertise and information to implement effective action and follow-up to the major global conferences held in past years.

The need for development is no longer a matter of debate. It is a recognized goal and an urgent task of the United Nations. Two years ago this Assembly discussed the merits of preventive action in the field of the maintenance of peace. International action aimed at the long-term social, economic and political development of society requires us to tackle issues ranging from the status of women to drug control and from urban management to child survival within a global vision of preventive action. We cannot limit ourselves to reacting to challenges. Our line of action requires that we be proactive if we are to pre-empt and diffuse the root causes of future tension.

Preventive and curative development is the basis of a peaceful and sustainable national and international system. Just as we realize that post-conflict peace-building necessitates the development dimension, so should it be a key component in our analysis of pre-conflict situations. An international solidarity based on the intrinsic value of the human person and a dignified existence for all is essential in ensuring a global, full respect for fundamental human rights.

Nearly 50 years after the setting up of this Organization, "We the peoples of the United Nations" have learned that to give true expression to the hope of peace, the international community must base itself on the principles of social justice and solidarity; that is a principled pragmatic approach, which forms the basis for action in the recommendations of the Secretary-General.

Mr. Steward (South Africa): The Secretary-General's report on an Agenda for Development, so eloquently introduced yesterday by the President of the General Assembly, undoubtedly represents one of the most important initiatives on the agenda for the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. An Agenda for Development, with its recommendations for carrying forward the goal of economic and social development through enhanced international cooperation, is central to the vision expressed in the United Nations Charter.

We would like to extend to the Secretary-General our appreciation of his efforts in preparing document A/49/665, and we look forward to his continuing to play his constructive role in developing an effective framework for future development cooperation. The dynamic global environment clearly calls for a regular reassessment of both strategic and operational issues. In this respect, the Secretary-General's report serves a valuable purpose by focusing attention on emerging priorities.

In commenting on the report, I should like to support previous speakers who rightly pointed out that time for evaluation of the latest report was limited. Considering the importance and scope of the subject, the ultimate value of the Secretary-General's contribution will require thorough assessment, which, I believe, will flow naturally from our participation in a wide variety of debates.

My delegation wishes to join other members of the Group of 77 in supporting the views which were articulated by the Ambassador of Algeria, speaking on behalf of the Group of 77.

Throughout history, all mankind's endeavours have been small steps on the development ladder. The initiatives behind these steps were inspired by those who displayed the creative spirit and vision needed to address the challenges of the day. This would support the proposition of the Secretary-General that the primary responsibility for development lies with each individual sovereign State.

At the same time, the value of regional and global interaction cannot be underestimated, and my delegation would like to express appreciation for the continuing commitment of donor countries operating within the United Nations system to provide assistance to developing countries in addressing the considerable development challenges facing them.

In the Agenda for Development we find a much needed initiative to reformulate the approach and priorities of the United Nations. South Africa supports this initiative, and sees distinct parallels with the South African Reconstruction and Development Programme, which is responsible for a similar conceptual mandate. Participation at all levels, governmental, non-governmental and the private sector; the enhanced role of women; sustainability; the necessity for economic growth, peace and democracy — these are all concepts South Africa is seeking to promote at a national level.

Human development forms a cornerstone of this programme. From 26 to 28 October this year an

International Donor Conference on Human Resource Development was held in South Africa in cooperation with the Commonwealth Secretariat and the United Nations Development Programme, giving practical expression to our resolve to address this crucial issue. South Africa wishes to express its appreciation for the support received with this vital initiative.

Recognition of the sovereignty of States to determine their own national priorities is fundamental to the success of an effective development strategy. While supporting the notion that funding could be diverted from military applications to those in a rational development programme, South Africa also acknowledges that a balanced application of resources remains the responsibility of the individual State and will vary from State to State.

The emphasis placed on the empowerment of women and the need to reach agreement on measures to promote the advancement of women is to be welcomed. These are issues currently receiving attention in my country and are recognized as an important part of the national strategy of reconstruction and development.

South Africa looks forward to the Fourth World Conference on Women as an opportunity to demonstrate the progress achieved in this regard and to reaffirm its commitment to enhancing the role and status of women.

The necessity for financial resources to implement United Nations development efforts must be addressed at an early stage to ensure the timely implementation of the programmed initiatives. We have taken note of the proposals made by the Secretary-General in this regard.

We have also taken note of the growing value and prominence of South-South development cooperation and the fact that such cooperation may successfully include both financial and technical cooperation. South Africa feels that this is an area requiring further attention.

Development has indeed become the central theme of our time. South Africa stands ready to participate in the debate on an effective Agenda for Development and to contribute constructively towards achieving development which is both human-centred and sustainable.

Mr. Snoussi (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like to begin by congratulating the Secretary-General on all the efforts he is making to enhance the prestige and credibility of the United Nations system by strengthening its efficiency and the coordination between its bodies.

The report on an Agenda for Development before us today and the note on the World Hearings on Development are part of that effort, which is aimed at establishing a harmonious balance between international peace and security, on the one hand, and economic and social development, on the other. Proper implementation by the international community of the documents' wise recommendations would undoubtedly, we are convinced, contribute to solving the majority of problems that beset our world, particularly the foreign-debt crisis, endemic poverty, the marginalization of Africa, unemployment, famine, illiteracy and environmental degradation.

My delegation would like to express its full support for the integrated approach to development that the Secretary-General has laid out in his two reports, for, like him, we feel that any real development must be economically effective, ecologically sound, socially fair, respectful of human rights and focused on improving the well-being of the population.

We are of course aware that the implementation of such a development model is a long-term undertaking requiring resolute action at the national level and above all, real international cooperation based on respect for shared interests and the pursuit of common goals.

The end of the cold war and of the East-West division that marked international relations for so long offers us a historic opportunity to achieve the purposes enshrined in the Charter of our Organization since its creation, namely:

> "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war"

and

> "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom",

while preserving, of course, the natural environment for the benefit of present and future generations.

The post-bipolar era that we are entering should not go down in history as the era of the end of competition for the development of the third world. On the contrary, it should be a period when mankind comes to terms with itself in a spirit of solidarity and compassion towards the poorest in our world.

In an increasingly interdependent world, the challenges confronting the developing countries necessarily have international repercussions, while trans-border problems like illegal drug-trafficking, terrorism, extremism of all kinds, international migration, the proliferation of communicable diseases and the degradation of the global environment are making international cooperation all the more essential.

In other words, no country, whatever its power or means, can any longer deal with these problems by itself, still less protect itself from their negative impacts; we need a resolute collective international will to remedy such evils.

Some feel that aspirations to a better world, aspirations born of the end of the ideological and military East-West conflict, have, unfortunately, rapidly been dashed owing to the combined effects of the economic recession and the dwindling strategic value of the developing countries in a world in which the weight of vital security concerns has been lifted from the developed countries.

The cumulative peace dividend is now estimated at nearly $1 trillion, whereas the reinvestment of the resulting savings in the conversion of military industries and job-protection is not enough to explain the reduction in official development assistance.

Indeed, the official development assistance agreed to by the countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development was reduced by more than 10 per cent between 1992 and 1993 — from $60.8 billion to $54.8 billion — and now represents no more than 0.29 per cent of their combined gross national product, while the goal agreed to at the international level since 1970 is 0.7 per cent of gross national product, a commitment honoured by only four countries. To emphasize the disproportion, we note that in the developed countries social welfare alone accounts for 15 per cent of the gross national budget, while one fifth of the world population is living in absolute poverty.

It is true that direct foreign investment in developing countries rose to $70 billion in 1993, but its distribution seems to favour newly industrialized countries, and other developing countries, particularly in Africa, continue to suffer the appalling effects of economic crisis.

We pay attention to any policy aimed at transforming the cold-war economy into one of peace or at reorienting the philosophy of cooperation towards a partnership for humane and lasting development.

The Agenda for Development rightly stresses the consensus that has emerged on the multifaceted nature of development, while recognizing that it cannot be merely an imitation of some imported model of production and consumption. That being the case, if the Agenda is to be an outline for universal development, new policies and new institutional arrangements must be defined to adapt the means to the ends.

Indeed, notwithstanding the many good points of the Agenda for Development, which many speakers have stressed, it is essential that its political recommendations be translated into operational activities and specific scenarios. It should take the form of a programme of action, to be implemented within a reasonable time, with shared responsibility focused on agreed joint objectives.

We must realize that the developing world is suffering from a scarcity of resources at both the world and national levels. Furthermore, most developing countries confront structural unemployment, which affects large sectors of their work force and causes considerable social backwardness in the areas of health, education, the environment and various infrastructures, essential for stimulating the private sector, promoting the status of women, protecting the natural environment and, of course, strengthening democracy.

The conclusion of the Uruguay Round negotiations at Marrakesh last April will, according to experts' forecasts, have beneficial effects on the world economy, estimated at $500 billion when measures to free international trade have been implemented.

In this connection, we hope that the international community will spare no effort to set up the compensation mechanisms provided for in the Marrakesh agreements to benefit the least developed countries and countries that are net importers of foodstuffs.

The restructuring of the Global Environment Fund and the replenishment of its resources by $2 billion is another initiative that we can be proud of, even if neither lived up to the hopes created by the Rio Conference nor met financing needs in the area of protecting the world environment.

The Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, adopted in Cairo last September, will, thanks to the financial commitments it contains, make it possible to reduce the growth in the world's population to levels compatible with the quest for sustainable development.

We hope that the conferences on social development to be held in Copenhagen, on women and development, to be held in Beijing, and on human settlements will lead to positive results and make a substantial contribution to the efforts of the international community to promote development in all its dimensions to the benefit of all mankind.

This high-level mechanism should involve representatives of both developing and developed countries and should greatly contribute to the gradual improvement of international monetary, financial and commercial systems, thereby laying the foundations for a global, multilateral monitoring system in which no interests would be harmed and in which the integration of a growing world economy would be promoted.

We are pleased to note that reflection by the international community, taking into account these world changes, is pursuing this path. This is why the Kingdom of Morocco supports the idea of creating a high-level body for the development and coordination of economic policies.

Indeed, we expect a good deal more from the work of this body than from reduced assistance, granted parsimoniously, in an unfair economic environment.

Thus, in conformity with the position of the Group of 77, Morocco is in favour of setting up a working group of the whole aimed at turning the agenda for development into an operational plan of action, including a code of conduct for the financing of development on an assured and predictable basis, in order to allow for the effective implementation of the consensus decisions arduously reached in our universal Organization.

Mr. Biloa Tang (Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): In his report (A/48/935) entitled "An agenda for development", prepared at the request of this Assembly, the Secretary-General set forth his concept of development as a fundamental right of the human person and one of the component elements of a comprehensive whole — peace, the economy, environmental protection, social justice and democracy.

In these elements, peace is presented as a foundation of development; the economy, as the engine of progress; the environment, as a basis for sustainability; social justice, as a pillar of society; and, democracy, as good governance.

In this development process, the Secretary-General clearly laid out the role of the Organization in identifying the agents of development and in providing an information centre and enhancing understanding, and as the best forum for seeking consensus and establishing standards and priorities and, finally, as a centre for coordinating development activities.

These valuable initial ideas have focused the attention of the international community, which, since the issuance of "An Agenda for Peace", was awaiting the agenda for development.

The Secretary-General's report has thus been the subject of intensive consultations. The World Hearings on Development, held in June 1994 here in New York, at the initiative and under the presidency of Ambassador Insanally of Guyana; the high-level debate at the Economic and Social Council on the agenda for development; and the ministerial declaration at the conclusion of the commemorative ceremony of the thirtieth anniversary of the Group of 77 — all have enabled us to determine the eventual shape of the agenda for development.

I should like on this occasion to thank the President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session who, in his note contained in document A/49/320 of 22 August 1994, drew up a concise and precise summary of the main conclusions of all of these meetings. I should like also to congratulate the Secretary-General who, on the basis of those conclusions, presented to us a new report, for which we are grateful.

In his new report the Secretary-General pertinently highlights the priority objectives of development and issues a number of recommendations. These objectives fall into three categories: to strengthen and revitalize international development cooperation generally; to build a stronger, more effective and coherent multilateral development system; and to enhance the effectiveness of the Organization itself in its development activities.

As to the recommendations, my delegation wishes to support especially those relating to the need to create a favourable climate and to the imperative of achieving the objective of allocating 0.7 per cent of gross national product to official development assistance. In that connection, I note with regret that 24 years after that goal was set, only four countries have achieved it, and to those countries we express our sincere appreciation.

Mr. Vilchez Asher (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

My delegation also supports the proposal relating to the outright cancellation of the external debt of the least developed and poorest countries. We have always felt that external debt was a major obstacle to development in the light of the fact that the development efforts of the poor countries are cancelled out by the debt burden and debt servicing.

I note also with satisfaction that once again the Secretary-General in his report puts forward the idea of convening an international conference on the financing of development, a conference that could be organized in close cooperation with the Bretton Woods institutions, the regional development banks and the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

In my delegation's view, such a conference should not be an occasion for another literary exercise but rather should be an opportunity to proceed to a critical scrutiny of the many development plans and programmes of action consensually adopted by the international community, and then to seek out ways and means to implement them.

Especially with regard to Africa, the latest development programme — the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s — is still the foundation upon which all of the development efforts of our continent could be based. Thus, for Africa, the agenda for development under preparation should reveal ways and means for the effective and urgent implementation of a development programme whose timeliness and relevance were reaffirmed at the Tokyo Conference on African Development.

The African economy is essentially based on the production and marketing of commodities, and it goes without saying that any development strategy for the continent must, if it is to be viable and credible, take into account the imperative of commodity diversification.

It therefore seems timely to me to echo the appeal made in the debate in the current session of the General Assembly by the head of the delegation of Cameroon for the creation of a commodity diversification fund for Africa. I hope that the present negotiations with regard to the creation of that fund will be crowned with success.

I should like before concluding to revert to the Secretary-General's report and underline that beyond any doubt that report represents an important contribution to the preparation of an agenda for development, but that certain aspects of the report would gain from further refinement.

Similarly, certain recommendations in the report should be more action-oriented. Further, one might wish that the priority given to Africa in the Secretary-General's report be strengthened along the lines contained in the note by the President of our Assembly. Moreover, conceptually speaking and in the light of the interrelationship between peace and development, the new concepts of preventive and curative development also deserve further consideration.

With regard, finally, to relations between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions, the Secretary-General's recommendations relating to the strengthening of cooperation and coordination, especially the proposal to reactivate the United Nations/Bretton Woods Liaison Committee, should be encouraged. In this connection, the preparation of an agenda for development should be an opportunity to review the modalities for a more transparent and harmonious cooperation between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions.

In conclusion, it goes without saying that my delegation fully supports the statement made by Ambassador Lamamra on behalf of the Group of 77 and China. In that regard, the proposal for the creation of a high-level working group of the whole enjoys my delegation's full support.

Mr. Sotirov (Bulgaria): At the outset, I would like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for the considerable amount of work accomplished in preparing the report (A/49/665) on an Agenda for Development and for the concrete recommendations drafted on the basis of the report. Our appreciation goes also to the President of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, Ambassador Samuel Insanally, for organizing the World Hearings on Development and to Ambassador Richard Butler, President of the Economic and Social Council, for his able guidance during the high-level meeting of the Council in June and July of this year.

My delegation considers the issue a necessary and timely complement to the already adopted Agenda for Peace. Global peace and security will be precarious and vulnerable unless we create a democratic, as well as economically and socially more balanced, world. The five dimensions identified in the report of the Secretary-General — peace, economy, environment, justice and democracy — are integral parts of the concept of human-centred sustainable development.

My delegation would like to stress that on the eve of the twenty-first century, when each country as well as the international community as a whole, is striving to shape new patterns of development, the commitment of the United Nations to promoting development is critical for the successful discharge of the mandate entrusted to it by the United Nations Charter. The Charter, as pointed out by the Secretary-General, should be implemented in full, not selectively. Therefore, equal treatment and financing of United Nations peace-keeping and development activities is a vital necessity.

The role of the United Nations in the field of development is more crucial than ever before. It is rapidly increasing in virtually every field of international activity. Therefore, Member States are expected to make the United Nations system a far more effective instrument of multilateral than it has been in the past.

My delegation considers that the revitalization of international development cooperation should lead to the sustainable development of all countries and regions and reduce the tremendous disparities between and within States. It should pursue the innovative approach that evolved in Rio de Janeiro during the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. Development can be sustained and sustainable only if none of its dimensions — economic, social, cultural, humanitarian or environmental — is undermined. This means, for instance, that the programmes for economic adjustment and systemic transformation that are under way in a number of countries should take into consideration the social and environmental elements of development. Moreover, the impact of the environmental component is often beyond the control of a single State.

This is particularly relevant for the countries undergoing a transition to a market economy. The global political dimension of the reforms experienced by the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and of the Commonwealth of Independent States has already been recognized. Their integration into the world economy should continue to be supported by the United Nations. The problems of these countries in the economic, social and environmental fields should be more thoroughly addressed at regional and international levels.

My delegation is of the view that an improved system of international trade based on non-discriminatory market access will spur the development of all countries. The successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round, with the signing of the Final Act in Marrakesh and the establishment of the World Trade Organization, will contribute to the enhancement of economic growth worldwide. Foreign direct investment, capital flows and access to technology are of paramount significance for global development.

The achievement of a more effective multilateral development system is the goal of the ongoing revitalization of the United Nations in the economic, social and related fields. My delegation fully supports the recommendations of the Secretary-General contained in the report for the enhancement of the role of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Bretton Woods institutions and the sectoral and technical agencies of the United Nations in the sphere of development. Their effectiveness will be increased by avoiding duplication of work, through better coordination of activities and with increased transparency of their decision-making processes.

The strengthening of cooperation between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions in the financing of development activities was brought to the attention of the international community during the debate in the Economic and Social Council's high-level session earlier this year. We share the view expressed in the report of the Secretary-General that the revival of the United Nations/Bretton Woods Liaison Committee would enhance substantive consultation on the issue of financing operational activities for development.

Noting with appreciation the Secretary-General's efforts to formulate pragmatic and feasible recommendations, we share the view, expressed by some delegations, that the Agenda for Development should specify more objectives, more concrete measures and clear time limits for their achievement. Therefore, my delegation supports the proposal to create an open-ended working group of the General Assembly to finalize the work on the Agenda for Development by drafting a comprehensive resolution before the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

Mr. Pibulsonggram (Thailand): Last year, when my delegation participated in the general debate on this important agenda item, "An agenda for development", we offered our view that there were four elements which we believed should be considered part of the main theme of an Agenda for Development". These were that the Agenda should serve as an instrument for the coordination of, and action on, relevant international agreements; that it should strengthen the coordination of activities within the United Nations system and with other international organizations and non- governmental organizations; that the role of the Economic and Social Council should be enhanced; and that the "Agenda" itself should go beyond the traditional concept of development policy in order to meet the challenges to development posed by a continually evolving world.

Those elements continue to be relevant today. That is why we are very pleased to note that they have been incorporated into the recommendations of the Secretary-General that appear in document A/49/665.

Development is not merely a matter of material modernization. No, it is an endless pattern of transformation of society. My delegation agrees with the view that development is a process, and it must be seen as such.

My delegation also believes that the five dimensions of development on which the Secretary-General elaborates in document A/48/935, "An agenda for development", provide a firm basis for the new concept of development. This concept is very sound. It encompasses, as a matter of necessity, the combined efforts of the people, Governments and international organizations in addressing the political, economic, social, cultural and humanitarian aspects of development.

Dimensions within these aspects of development — which include peace, economy, the environment, justice and democracy — are recognized as being the main factors which can play a substantial role in advancing the idea of human-centred development. Equally important, in my delegation's opinion, are the roles of Member States and the cooperation between them. In the context of the United Nations, the role of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Bretton Woods institutions and the operational coordination of development activities are all essential components of the Agenda's implementation and are recognized as such in the recommendations of the Secretary-General.

Valuable inputs into the debate on this issue and the formulation of the Agenda itself came from the World Hearings on Development organized by the President of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We commend Mr. Insanally for his initiative and his role in convening the World Hearings.

My delegation has read document A/49/665 with great care and will study its recommendations with great interest. Because the lack of time has been a severe limiting factor, and my delegation is therefore in a position to offer only a set of preliminary views on the issues raised by the Secretary-General.

One major proposition has obtained our total support, however. It is that the degree of success of major development efforts depends on the degree of success of the domestic partnership between Governments and all sectors of society. This belief has guided the Thai Government's activities in the field of development. The results achieved in our development efforts vindicate and strengthen that belief.

During the early phases of Thailand's current development trend, the Government, virtually alone — I repeat: virtually alone — occupied the central role in all aspects of the Kingdom's development. It was essentially the sole component capable of planning and implementing measures nationwide for development. The Government established State enterprises. It supported and supervised commercial banks and their activities. It planned and managed health and educational services. It had and continues to have such a central and vital role even today, but with a significant difference.

As development has taken root, other sectors of society have matured and have been able to assume greater responsibilities for their own interests. The Government is now a partner with these other components in the development efforts of the Kingdom. The Government's concentration has become primarily focused on increasing popular participation for all parts of society. It has also become focused on managing the economy, maintaining financial discipline, providing infrastructure, encouraging decentralization, and formulating and implementing a policy which brings about a more equitable income distribution. It also has a special responsibility for the disadvantaged in our society.

Domestic cooperation is only one dimension of development. International cooperation is equally vital. This must include partnerships with the business community at both the national and the international levels. A favourable international growth-oriented setting for development, which can be achieved only through international cooperation, is indispensable. In this regard, equitable access to the expanding global opportunities in trade, technology, investment and information must be accorded to developing countries.

Without the necessary financial resources, however, development will remain in crisis, especially in the least developed countries among us. We commend Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden for having met the agreed development assistance target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product. Unfortunately, they are the only donor countries to have done so. Official development assistance must be brought closer to agreed targets. It must be sustained, lest gains obtained in the overall infrastructure of the global economy be weakened and lost.

The injunction in the Secretary-General's report remains just that for now. My delegation would be vitally interested in seeing specific and concrete proposals advanced for complements to official development assistance. In our opinion, these should encompass specific concessions favouring developing countries in the areas of trade, commodities, debt and short- and long-term loans.

While we will have to await the formulation of these proposals, my delegation has found worthy of support the Secretary-General's recommendation that the General Assembly consider convening an international conference on the financing of development, with the participation of the Bretton Woods institutions and other regional development banks as well as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The participation and contributions of the private sector should also be considered. This is timely and necessary if we are to elevate the importance of development in the context of this world body.

As the Secretary-General has pointed out, the United Nations provides a unique forum for defining the international development agenda and building the consensus needed for action. It should thus be the locus of any development efforts. As the main organ of the United Nations, the General Assembly can play a valuable role in this effort by forging a new framework for development cooperation.

The Economic and Social Council should also have an enhanced role in development efforts. Many important economic matters have been and continue to be decided outside the realm of the United Nations. Should this situation persist, the Agenda for Development could be just another expression of good intent with little hope of realization.

A revitalized Economic and Social Council is the most appropriate United Nations organ in which to address development. The Council must intensify its role and gain credibility as an international decision-making mechanism. The proposal for the establishment of a council of international development advisers which could serve as a policy-analyzing body for the Economic and Social Council merits further discussion, in our opinion. It could provide valuable analytical input for the Council.

With regard to the operational coordination of the United Nations, we believe that it is imperative to build a more integrated, efficient and effective framework for the Organization. Here, too, the Economic and Social Council must play an effective role in bringing the specialized agencies into a closer working relationship with the United Nations itself. A unified system which is freed from duplication and fragmentation and which possesses a clear definition of the roles and missions of its subsidiary organs would allow the Organization more effectively to respond to the needs of the developing countries. We further believe, therefore, that it should be extended to other specialized agencies, such as the Bretton Woods institutions.

My delegation also agrees with the premise that man-made and natural disasters have adverse effects on development, especially if they occur in developing countries. To strengthen the capabilities of the United Nations to act preventively in this regard, the proposal of the Secretary-General on preventive development has great merit. Here again, my delegation would wish to see precise and clearly defined mandates and proposals for further consideration.

In view of the importance of this item, my delegation believes that a working group under the Assembly should be formed to examine in depth the many weighty recommendations made by the Secretary-General, in order to arrive at a common understanding on an Agenda for Development and the most effective measures to ensure the success of its implementation. We believe that the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations in October 1995 should serve us well as the target date for the membership to arrive at a clear consensus as to how to proceed with this Agenda for Development.

For our part, we will participate fully and actively, and will support measures which will elevate the importance of the Agenda for Development to a priority no less than that of the Agenda for Peace. The two Agendas are complementary aspects of the same effort to promote and sustain

> "the economic and social advancement of all peoples"

and to strengthen the United Nations as

> "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends",

as eloquently stated in the Charter itself. Together they will provide a framework for action in the twenty-first century.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): I would like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General for his specific recommendations in document A/49/665. We would also like to thank the President of the General Assembly for his introductory remarks to the report of the Secretary-General and the note of the President of the General Assembly, contained in document A/49/320. Last but not least, we would like to associate ourselves with the statement made by Ambassador Lamamra in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of 77 and on behalf of China.

We are happy to note that the recommendations on the Agenda for Development represent the views expressed during the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council as well as those expressed during the World Hearings on Development conducted by the then President of the General Assembly last June.

For the past four years the international community has set its United Nations machinery in motion through a variety of related global conferences: the World Summit for Children, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the World Conference on Human Rights, the World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction, and the International Conference on Population and Development. At all these conferences, the complexion of the plethora of problems besetting mankind has always been similar, and, indeed, we already know what can and must be done. Can we, then, afford to remain inactive when opportunities for action abound, especially when there is overwhelming consensus in the international community for taking measures that can carry us forward?

My delegation supports the Secretary-General's view that

> "development should be recognized as the foremost and most far-reaching task of our time" *(A/49/665, para. 4)*,

particularly since during the cold-war era development in many Member States was always left to wallow at the periphery. We underscore his argument that new development approaches should not only generate growth, but should make its benefits equitably available to all, as far as possible. Indeed the yardstick of development should be the elimination of poverty, the satisfaction of people's priority needs and sustainable economic growth for future generations.

We support the view that military expenditures should be seriously scaled down in order to free more resources for development needs.

We in Botswana have for some time now realized that development can best succeed if it is driven by national priorities and if it is truly dedicated to the improvement of the well-being of the overwhelming majority of our people. We are, however, mindful of the fact that in today's world of growing interdependence and rapid globalization, external macroeconomic forces like trade, debt-management, direct investment, capital flows and access to technology play an equally important role.

The interdependent world that we live in dictates that the people of this planet have to share. The need for an enabling and conducive international environment in trade has been and continues to be paramount. Even where developing countries could muster resources for their development through what could accrue via productive international trade, a stifling environment remains a major stumbling block. Where international trade does not foster rewarding backward and forward linkages, the efforts of those involved are rendered almost worthless.

The sharing of technology and information, and increased accessibility of both to developing countries, will go a long way in enhancing efforts towards national capacity-building. Without adequate technical know-how and relevant information, national development plans will remain good intentions without tangible and appropriate results.

The need for investment in developing countries is overwhelming. However, the debt situation is still not very helpful in many of our countries, particularly in Africa. The suggestions in the Secretary-General's report regarding this issue do not seem to be far-fetched in the view of my delegation. One cannot over-emphasize how this chronic situation curtails the development efforts of Africa. Just like an individual in debt, a State finds that its marginal propensity to consume and save gets drastically altered. One can imagine the extent to which such a situation will impact on the investment climate. Countries cannot produce sufficiently for their needs or give anyone enough confidence in them to offer adequate credit for them to pull themselves out of such woes. We urgently need to address this situation.

We agree with the Secretary-General that efforts aimed at achieving regional cooperation and integration should be enhanced. Efforts such as those of the Organization of African Unity in promoting this important approach to development should be encouraged to the maximum. It is in this light that countries of our sub-region have found it necessary to build and continually strengthen their endeavours through the Southern African Development Community (SADC). However, the realities of our situation are such that much assistance will be needed, particularly in those Member States where reconstruction and post-conflict nation-building will be necessary. These emerging democracies need to be nurtured and supported for us to achieve lasting and sustainable development — hence, sustainable peace.

The significant potential benefits that can also be reaped through South-South cooperation should be fully recognized and exploited. This is particularly the case in the fields of appropriate technology, information sharing and the expansion of trade opportunities between countries of the South. Increased and improved trade in the South can indeed have positive multiplier effects in the development of our countries.

Mr. Castillo (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

A number of delegations, and the Secretary-General in his report, have emphasized the central role that the United Nations can and should play in the field of development. The universality of the United Nations gives it more latitude than any other organization to promote development. However, it is a fact that great coherence and coordination are a must both within the United Nations system and between it and other agencies involved in multilateral development activities. A greater sense of common purpose has to be cultivated, and coordination between the United Nations system and the Bretton Woods institutions must be strengthened.

Let me conclude by noting that the chronic financial situation of the United Nations system is indeed worrisome. Whereas we would like to see the United Nations performing its function effectively and efficiently, without adequate resources and their predictable availability it will remain difficult for us to achieve our goals. This situation is a major impediment to improving international development cooperation activities. Perhaps, as suggested in the Secretary-General's report, a forum should be created where we can sit down and find ways to improve the means of mobilizing resources for international development.

Mr. Eteffa (Ethiopia): Development is of vital concern to the international community, especially the developing world, and the idea of an Agenda for Development is an expression of that concern. The debate on an Agenda for Development at this session of the General Assembly will further enhance the drive to forge a renewed rationale, consensus and framework in support of development. My delegation commends the Secretary-General for submitting a report on an Agenda for Development and for his continuous efforts to enrich the Agenda on the basis of observations and views expressed during the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council and the World Hearings on Development conducted in June by the President of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

My delegation fully associates itself with the sentiments expressed and proposals submitted by the Chairman of the Group of 77, and would like to highlight its views on some of the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General (A/49/665).

The five dimensions of development discussed in the report are totally acceptable to us in Ethiopia. However, we would like to underscore the need to conduct careful analysis in the process of elaborating these concepts, so that they do not give rise to new conditionalities which might undermine the harmony between national development priorities and external macroeconomic forces. The external macroeconomic environment must promote the attainment of economic and social objectives of developing countries by ensuring equitable access to expanding global opportunities in trade and technology, investment opportunities and the flow of increased concessional resources in a predictable manner.

It is pertinent to pay due attention to the structural link and complementarity that should be established between the Agenda for Development and the outcome of global conferences such as the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the International Conference on Population and Development, the forthcoming World Summit for Social Development and the Fourth World Conference on Women, as well as other global summits slated for the future. These exercises should be carried out in a way that helps avoid duplication of efforts and promotes efficient utilization of scarce resources.

My delegation feels that another area that should be an integral part of the Agenda for Development is the strategy for the realization of internationally agreed programmes and targets designed to address the specific economic and social problems of a given group of countries. In this respect, the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s and the United Nations Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries deserve serious consideration.

It is to be recalled that the General Assembly adopted the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s at its forty-sixth session, in December 1991, based on the principle of shared responsibility and full partnership between Africa and the international community. When we examine the implementation of this Agenda, we find that the political will and commitment of the international community have not been up to expectations.

The New Agenda sets clearly focused objectives to be attained during the 1990s; these include an average annual growth target for gross domestic product of at least 6 per cent, and a minimum of $30 billion in net official development assistance in 1992, which thereafter is set to grow at an average rate of 4 per cent per annum. The actual performance of the African economy and the availability of official development assistance draws a contrary picture. Preliminary estimates by the Economic Commission for Africa indicate that in 1993 the African economy grew by a mere 1.4 per cent from 1992, which falls far below the annual growth target of 6 per cent set in the New Agenda. The negative impact of 1.4 per cent growth as compared to an African population growth rate of 3.1 per cent needs no explanation. In like manner, the initial period of the implementation of the New Agenda has witnessed a cut in aid plans by bilateral and multilateral donors alike. The flow of official development assistance to Africa has shown a significant reduction, and is far from the recommended level.

The external-debt problem of Africa continues to impair economic- and social-development efforts. The ratios of external debt to gross national product, of debt to exports and of actual debt service to exports has reached a critical level, and it would be difficult to talk of meaningful development in Africa without taking radical steps to resolve this problem.

The discrepancy or variance between objectives and targets set internationally and their actual implementation is also true for the United Nations Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries. It is therefore imperative to give priority to the realization of all programmes and specific targets, particularly with respect to those groups of countries where the economic difficulties are vivid and critical.

There is a need also to recognize that in African and other developing countries socio-economic development problems can be tackled through regional economic cooperation and integration. Therefore, an Agenda for Development should give special emphasis to the establishment of an African economic community.

We are aware of the diversity of views on the effectiveness of economic management at the international level and the inadequacy of the present arrangement, which fails to take the needs of developing countries into account or to integrate the diverse components of the development process. The need to bring the Bretton Woods institutions, including the newly emerging World Trade Organization, closer to the United Nations is today more necessary than ever if their operations are to have a positive impact on the global economy. To this end, structures and mechanisms to promote the complementarity of the two institutions must be in place at the highest management, expert and field levels. The Bretton Woods institutions must base their programmes and policies on internationally agreed principles, objectives and targets set in United Nations forums as a result of intergovernmental negotiations. It is our hope that the future deliberations on the Agenda for Development can result in a transparent cooperation mechanism between the aforementioned institutions, with participatory and democratic working methods.

If the Agenda for Development is to make a significant difference in international economic cooperation and enhance sustainable growth and development in developing countries, there is a need to explore new and innovative methods of financing and to put in place follow-up mechanisms for their implementation.

The Secretary-General's report clearly points out how United Nations development activities have been hampered because of resource constraints. The mandate given the United Nations and the resources provided must be in a sound relationship, and predictability in funding is essential if projects and programmes are not to be undermined in the midst of performance. It is vital to restructure the existing regular and voluntary budgets and to explore new and additional methods of financing. The idea of including fees on speculative international financial transactions, a levy on fossil-fuel use, the utilization of resources released from disarmament and taxes on the profits of multinational corporations and on the use of common property resources must all be closely examined. To this end, the Secretary-General's proposal for an international conference on financing development must be given serious consideration, since it can provide ample opportunity to examine the problem of development financing in its entirety and come up with a concrete and implementable programme of action.

The effective implementation of the Agenda for Development requires the establishment of follow-up mechanisms at the various levels of the United Nations. In this regard the Economic and Social Council should be revitalized to assume these new responsibilities. However, the idea of establishing an expanded bureau of the Economic and Social Council needs further detailed explanations with regard to its duties and responsibilities, membership criteria and mode of operation.

The early part of the General Assembly session, when high-level representatives are present, should be organized to enable it to consider implementation problems submitted to it by the Economic and Social Council. As the Secretary-General suggests, the convening every few years of a special session of the Assembly devoted to international economic cooperation would provide the political impetus necessary for the implementation of the Agenda.

My delegation feels that elaboration of the Agenda for Development requires additional work and that therefore the General Assembly should mandate the President to constitute an open-ended working group whose mandate would be to conduct broad-based discussions and to submit its first report during the substantive session of the Economic and Social Council and its final report at the fiftieth session of the General Assembly.

Mr. Ponce (Ecuador)(*interpretation from Spanish*): The redefinition of the role of the United Nations in light of the changes on the international scene brought about by the end of the cold war began with the Assembly's consideration of "An Agenda for Peace" and the adoption of resolutions 47/120 A and B. The Organization's adaptation will not be complete until the Agenda for Development has been given similar consideration and corresponding decisions adopted and implemented. My delegation therefore supports the suggestion put forward yesterday by the representative of Algeria, in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of 77, to create a General Assembly working group with such a mandate.

Ecuador welcomes with satisfaction the elaborations and pertinent facts contained in the new report of the Secretary-General (A/49/665) relative to the contents of the initial report (A/48/935). The important contributions received during the World Hearings on Development that were convened and ably presided over by the President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session, Ambassador Insanally, are reflected, in part, in the document, which already constitutes a good outline of the elements, objectives and institutional requirements of development.

In particular, we would stress the link between peace and development, the reaffirmation of the central role of the United Nations in international cooperation for development and the recognition of the need to adapt United Nations institutions, including the Bretton Woods institutions, to urgent present-day requirements.

Ecuador considers that those basic elements need further elaboration and that they must be provided with the institutional and financial resources they require to become fully operative. If we assume a link between peace and development and if we wish seriously to face the challenges involved in the achievement of sustainable development, then we need both a strengthening of the development agencies and a reorientation of the activities of multilateral credit organs, as well as a substantive increase in resources for that purpose. Therefore, although we share the views contained in the report on the role the General Assembly should play in this area, we feel that the reforms suggested for the Economic and Social Council may prove to be insufficient to deal with the Herculean task facing us. Those resources cannot be obtained through voluntary contributions, as has been demonstrated by the insufficient response to the modest commitments undertaken at the Rio Summit. This fact requires us to review the mandates of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly with regard to the financial contributions of Member States to the Organization.

We recall that the growth of United Nations activities in the field of peace-keeping has led to an increase in the Organization's budget that has meant that for some Member States, such as Ecuador, contributions for such purposes have grown more than seventyfold in barely four years.

If the international community attaches the same priority to development, the increase in contributions to that end should be, if not of similar proportion, at least large enough to meet the most urgent needs. In addition, a restructuring of the Bretton Woods institutions, with a view to the provision of additional and stable resources for development projects carried forward by States and specialized agencies on the basis of guidelines and policies agreed by the international community in the Economic and Social Council following appropriate consultations, is an initiative that would enable us to cope with the requirements of today's magnitude.

My delegation attaches the greatest importance to the neutral character of the United Nations, which is emphasized in paragraph 67 of the report. As the Secretary-General rightly points out, that neutrality has made it possible for the Organization, together with Governments, to work steadily and with long-term objectives,

> "free of short-term political or economic objectives." *(A/49/665, para. 67)*

In order to preserve this element so fundamental to the success of the Organization's work, we should consider with particular care the ideas of "preventive development" and "curative development" that are introduced in paragraphs 81 and 83, respectively.

Ecuador supports the concepts put forward in the report regarding the need to reach an equitable and definitive solution to the problem of external debt, including cancellation in the case of the least-developed countries.

Moreover, although we share the view that the basic responsibility for development rests on Governments, my delegation believes that maintaining the current distortions and protectionist practices in international trade could cancel out any effort to achieve development. The unilateral and arbitrary restrictions recently imposed by various industrialized countries on exports of bananas, flowers and marine products from my country show clearly that the national efforts of developing countries to diversify their exports and strengthen the most competitive sectors of their economies will be insufficient if the current international economic environment is maintained, and especially if no action is taken to restructure international markets.

The need for the United Nations to play an active role in the area of trade and its relationship to development led to the creation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 30 years ago. Since the need is still as relevant as the relationship, the report we are discussing must be supplemented with proposals in that connection that go beyond a merely formal relationship with the future World Trade Organization.

My delegation endorses the initiative for the President of the General Assembly to hold hearings on the relationship between disarmament and development. Ecuador supports the idea that some of the resources released as a result of the reduction in the vast military expenditures of the great Powers should be channelled into development. The use of the so-called peace dividend to give an impetus to development would make it possible for the vast technological and human resources that are today absorbed by the military industry to be put to use to realize the aspirations of the great majority of mankind. In no event should mechanisms designed for that purpose be converted into a new form of conditionality for developing countries, nor should they affect those countries' right of self-defence.

Science and technology play a fundamental role in development and in the satisfaction of basic needs, such as health care and food. For that reason, the Agenda for Development should include objectives and programmes aimed specifically at encouraging the transfer of such services and commodities to developing countries on equitable terms.

Development is not merely a long-term objective; it is a basic human right, recognized by the international community in the Vienna Declaration and ratified by resolutions of the General Assembly. The minimum food requirements of 800 million people are not being met; every day 34,000 children die of malnutrition or disease; 35 per cent of the adult population — two thirds of them women — are illiterate; more than 850 million people live in areas that are undergoing desertification, which is continuing its inexorable advance; 35 million refugees have had to leave their countries.

The plight reflected in these figures reminds us of the obligation to take immediate action in all areas of international economic endeavour. The United Nations must urgently prepare and implement a comprehensive Agenda for Development. We trust that all Member States taking part in the negotiations that are being initiated by this debate will shoulder their full responsibility so that our work may result in innovative agreements of appropriate scope, commensurate with the gravity of an explosive situation in which the basic needs of more than 1.3 billion human beings living in absolute poverty remain unmet.

Mr. Mwaungulu (Malawi): The Malawi delegation welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on an Agenda for Development (A/49/669). This report is well prepared. It provides the framework for deliberation on and for the relaunching of the role of the United Nations in social and economic development, for which the Charter provides the mandate.

The extensive consultations carried out during the World Hearings on Development and the discussions at the substantive session of the Economic and Social Council placed a focus on the proposed Agenda for Development that was equal to the focus placed on the Agenda for Peace. This is what was demanded of the Secretary-General, and he delivered very well indeed. My delegation's view, therefore, is that the Secretary-General's report on an Agenda for Development more than augments and confirms our trust, faith and positive perception of the United Nations and its very important role in development.

The basic development problems to be discussed under the Agenda for Development demand urgent short-, medium- and long-term action if appropriate measures are to be devised and financial resources mobilized to implement them. The Secretary-General's report highlights vividly the desperate plight of the developing countries, particularly the African developing countries, in this regard. The obstacles to sustainable development include very poor terms of trade and a heavy external debt burden, both of which actually inhibit development: poor public and private foreign capital flows, which are regressive and therefore stall development; and the lack of a meaningful transfer of technological resources, which is a major inhibiting factor.

My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General when he says, among other things, that the perceptible marginalization of the "poorest and least-endowed countries" (*A/49/665, para. 23*) must be reversed; that financial resources earmarked by donors for development should not be taken away and diverted for the purpose of funding peace-keeping operations; and that the official development assistance flows should be increased meaningfully to secure the long-overdue attainment of the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product.

The attempts by these countries to implement the development programmes are doomed to failure from the start. Even when available, the financial and technological resources at their disposal are woefully inadequate. The poorest and least developed countries cannot be wished away or ignored. These are the realities which the deliberations on an agenda for development must take into account.

My delegation applauds the statement by the Secretary-General to the effect that

> "Development can succeed only if it is driven by national priorities" *(A/49/665, para. 15)*.

However, national priorities are at times brutally distorted by factors beyond the control of Governments. My country is now facing, for the fourth year running, a very serious drought situation. Serious food shortages and famine demand the reallocation of scarce financial resources earmarked for development. Even food security programmes become unimplementable. These emergencies make it imperative to devise long-term programmes that can stem the recurrence of food shortages, hunger and famine.

In the view of my delegation, irrigation schemes, for example, should be discussed within the framework of the agenda for development as one of the national priorities in development to combat the pernicious effects of drought in countries like Malawi.

My delegation believes that a democratic regime must be in place with all the ingredients for political stability, such as respect for human rights and freedom of expression and association, for meaningful and sustainable development to occur. New democratic regimes cannot, therefore, afford to be undermined by external factors which expose and exacerbate internal weakness and make their vulnerability almost complete. This becomes a prescription for violent conflict, insecurity and political instability. The deliberations on the agenda for development should, therefore, highlight and stress specific immediate remedial measures to meet urgent problems that are major obstacles to development in this regard.

My delegation strongly supports in this respect one of the Secretary-General's key recommendations, that

> "An adequate and permanent reduction in the stock of debt for countries in debt crisis undertaking economic reforms should be made. The debts of the least developed and poorest countries should be cancelled outright". *(ibid., annex).*

The President of the Republic of Malawi, His Excellency Mr. Bakili Muluzi, made this same call to the General Assembly on 5 October 1994 when he said,

> "I am very confident that our partners in development will continue to assist us as we forge ahead in our efforts to improve the standards of living of our people. I wish to appeal specifically for donor sympathy to write off existing loans of the Malawi Government.
>
> "I wish to assure you, Mr. President, that any assistance that is given to Malawi will be used for the purpose and target groups intended. The new democratically elected Government should be given the chance to make democracy work." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 18th meeting, p. 3).*

Finally, my delegation considers

> "the desirability of an international conference on the financing of development" *(ibid., Annex)*

a precondition for the success of the specific measures for action which will arise from the deliberations on the agenda for development. Secondly, my delegation would like to lend its strong support to the proposal made by the Chairman of the Group of 77, on behalf of the Group and China, in his statement that a high-level working group at the General Assembly level should be established to deliberate on the detailed and specific measures to constitute an agenda for development. This issue deserves to be given the urgency, importance and high-level attention it deserves.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): In keeping with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 58th plenary meeting, I call on the Permanent Observer of Switzerland.

Mr. Manz (Switzerland) *(interpretation from French):* For Switzerland, which is participating fully in all United Nations activities in the area of cooperation for development and humanitarian assistance, the definition of an agenda for development is of major importance. Thus, we would like to thank the Secretary-General for the document he has submitted to us.

This effort lies in a context delineated on the one hand by the "An Agenda for Peace" and on the other by the succession of international Conferences over the last few years and the next few years. We believe that these events are convergent, for there is no human future possible without the pooling of all the economic and social forces to guarantee development, the protection of the environment and security throughout our world. The challenge for the Organization is in this respect to synthesize the objectives of development established at international Conferences and to create a common framework for their follow-up based on its unique capacity to heighten awareness, create consensus and design policies in all areas relating to development.

For us, the implementation of an agenda for development should, above all, make it possible to improve the impact of the activities of the United Nations system, particularly in the field. It is from this angle that I should like to make the following points.

The development of each country can succeed only within the context of a consistent and coherent policy pursued by a competent and honest Government supported by a population whose rights are respected and whose interests are equitably represented. This implies the need to place populations at the centre of development, as well as the need to define any national priority within the context of a participatory approach involving all the partners concerned.

In respect of the States, the various components of the multilateral system for development cooperation all have a role to play. Thus, cooperation between the development system of the United Nations, international financial institutions and the future World Trade Organization is essential.

Greater emphasis must, however, be placed on harmonizing their activities in the field. We must see to it that the comparative advantages of all concerned are fully exploited in this effort to bring about harmonization. In this respect, certain joint initiatives have already proved the potential of such cooperation and should be further developed.

In this context, the role of the specialized agencies should, we feel, be defined more precisely so that each again concentrates on its area of expertise.

These steps, ambitious but indispensable, require the determined support of all of our Governments. Are we not all members of these institutions, and would it not be useful in this respect for the bureaux of the programmes and agencies and the bureau of the Economic and Social Council to plan for joint meetings on specific subjects?

Finally, the supply of official development assistance must be improved in the medium term. All States — donors and recipients — share the responsibility for attaining this goal. We feel that setting negotiated intermediate objectives for the total volume of official development assistance could be useful in improving financing of assistance in general.

As regards financing development activities within the United Nations system, we are convinced of the need to reform their modalities. Switzerland is participating actively in the discussions already under way on this question and hopes that all States will become involved in them. We also feel that it is absolutely essential that humanitarian assistance provided by the system should not drain resources needed to finance long-term development cooperation, which alone is capable of eliminating conflicts. Emergency assistance should thus be converted as quickly as possible into cooperation for development within a continuum of these two forms of action. A real Agenda for Development must clarify the principles for action by the United Nations system in this continuum.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item.

In accordance with the decision taken by the Assembly at its 30th plenary meeting, subsequent negotiations on this item will take place in the Second Committee.

The Assembly has thus concluded this stage of its consideration of agenda item 92.

The meeting rose at 8.35 p.m.

United Nations A/49/PV.65

General Assembly

Forty-ninth Session

Official Records

65th Meeting

Wednesday, 23 November 1994, 10 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Essy . . . . (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

Agenda item 41

United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa

Report of the Secretary-General (A/49/491 and Add.l)

Draft resolution (A/49/L.27)

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I call on the representative of Norway, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, to introduce draft resolution A/49/L.27.

Mr. Biorn Lian (Norway), Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa: In my capacity as Chairman of the Advisory Board, I am honoured to introduce the report (A/49/491 and Add.l) of the Secretary-General on the work of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA) and the draft resolution contained in document A/49/L.27. I have been informed that since the draft resolution was printed some additional countries have indicated they wish to co-sponsor it. These countries are Brazil, Italy, Madagascar, Romania and the Russian Federation. This brings the number of sponsors to 38. We are pleased that this wide range of sponsoring countries from all regional groups reflects the broad support of the international community for the important work of this Programme.

The report before the Assembly covers the period from 1 September 1993 through 31 August 1994. In addition to the report of the work of the UNETPSA Advisory Committee, it provides a wealth of detail on the fields and countries of study as well as on programmes and projects that are co-sponsored with other institutions under the Programme.

The success of the South African elections and the establishment of democratic rule was the crowning achievement, the jewel, in the dramatic chain of events unfolding in southern Africa. The political vacuum must now give way to a dramatic reorganization and genuine integration of the majority into all levels and facets of society. Of all the development strategies and tools at our disposal, human resource development can best make the transformation not only possible, but also successful.

We are pleased to report that, in spite of various obstacles, UNETPSA has, during the period covered by the report, increased not only income, but also the number of students sponsored. The increase in the number of students was made possible by the transfer, upon closure of the Centre against Apartheid, of the Trust Fund for South Africa funds to UNETPSA, as mandated by resolution 48/258 of 23 June 1994. In addition, it is clear that the policy of ensuring the multiplier effect and employment linkage criteria, *vis-à-vis* scholarship awards, is responsible for a number of the

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one month of the date of the meeting*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178. Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum. When the result of a recorded and/or roll-call vote is followed by an asterisk, see annex to the record.

successes in terms of job placement in the Government, universities, schools and corporations.

We are pleased to note that the fields of study of the scholarship holders are closely geared to the economic and social needs of South Africa, particularly as outlined in the South African Reconstruction and Development Programme. It is also essential to note that there has been an increase in the number of awards and fields of study which traditionally were not available to the vast majority. It is well known that mathematics and sciences were deliberately excluded, and accordingly the medical professions, engineering and all types of advanced science and mathematics courses were inaccessible to the vast majority of South Africans.

Accordingly, we are proud of the training record, which shows that in any one year at least half of the scholarship holders were in degree programmes emphasizing the sciences and mathematics, such as accounting, health and medical professions, engineering and the teaching profession, with specializations in sciences and mathematics and in all types of economics. In the social science fields, lawyers and magistrates, for example, can be expected to play an important role in the process of transforming the status quo by ensuring the democratic administration of justice in South Africa. Capacity- and institution-building, with particular attention on the role of women in development, remains a central focus of the Programme, together with support for education in all types of administration, particularly in respect of educational institutions.

One of the most important features of the Programme is its cost-effectiveness, particularly since 1992, when the Programme started supporting fellowship-holders inside South Africa. Through cost-effective co-sponsorship with local non-governmental organizations, academic institutions and international agencies, UNETPSA has been able to support or co-fund more than twice the number of students this year — 2,600 — with less than half the resources it has traditionally received. In addition, the Advisory Committee has encouraged UNETPSA's catalytic role and, as a result, not only have the numbers increased, but the targeting of institutions and degree programmes has been deliberate in respect of redressing the effects of years of apartheid.

Finally, I would like to commend the Department for Development Support and Management Services for years of backstopping and technical support for the Programme.

Mr. Nhlapo (South Africa): For the past 27 years members of the General Assembly have generously and voluntarily contributed to the Trust Fund enabling the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA) to extend educational assistance to individuals from Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Namibia. In recent years the Programme has focused exclusively on disadvantaged students from South Africa. It is therefore heart-warming to note that the draft resolution (A/49/L.27) before us is sponsored by such a wide spectrum of Member States, including donors, members of the Advisory Committee and, in particular, our partners in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), in recognition of the SADC objective of promoting the development of human resources.

The Assembly is aware that the Government of National Unity, under the leadership of President Nelson Mandela, has set for itself the task of devising a reconstruction and development plan for the new South Africa. South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme is a people-centred Programme intended to reduce poverty and provide opportunity and growth in a stable society where human rights are of paramount concern.

One of the five key components of the Reconstruction and Development Programme is the development of human resources. Enhancing the availability of education and training to all, from pre-school onwards, is the seminal theme of this component.

My Government is thus particularly anxious to see that UNETPSA continues its activities during this period of fundamental socio-economic transformation. Since UNETPSA is an ongoing multilateral Programme and has demonstrated its ability to render direct, cost-effective assistance to individual South Africans, my Government believes that UNETPSA can make a valuable contribution to the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. The effective management of funds donated to UNETPSA has ensured an increase in the number of students benefiting from the generosity of donors. This has been in no small measure due to the foresight of recent years manifested in reorienting the focus of UNETPSA programmes from overseas education and training to education and training within South Africa and in focusing on technical training. In fact, my Government believes that UNETPSA has the potential to occupy a unique niche within the spectrum of educational support envisaged by the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

For these reasons, as the Assembly will recall, an appeal to the international community to continue support for UNETPSA was made by Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo on the historic occasion of the readmission of South Africa to the General Assembly on 23 June 1994.

Only last week, the Advisory Committee on the Tertiary Sector Crisis, formed in September by the Minister of Education, Mr. Sibusiso Bengu, submitted its report in Parliament. The report painted a bleak picture of the snowballing problems in tertiary education, warning, *inter alia*, that

> "the financial sustainability of some tertiary institutions, particularly some historically black universities, has become a critical issue".

Flashpoints for the 1995 academic year listed in the report include the following: problems of access to tertiary institutions being faced by talented students with inadequate or no financial resources; rising unpaid tuition fees — in 1992 unpaid student fees amounted to 89 million rand, and in 1993 the figure increased to 137 million rand; and salaries of lecturers and support staff. The South African Government will respond to this looming crisis. It is, for example, considering a 500-million-rand package as a short-term scheme to rescue some of the universities and *technikons* from financial ruin. President Mandela has signalled that he will back an initial drive to raise a 200-million-rand guarantee fund to mobilize private-sector funding.

This report confirms that the educational needs of a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa must be urgently addressed. It also underlines the UNETPSA's vision, reflected in the draft resolution, of continuing to allocate a higher proportion of resources for strengthening the historically black universities and other tertiary institutions.

We are also pleased to note that the draft resolution encourages close consultations between the Advisory Committee and the South African Ministries responsible for education and the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

Under the able leadership of Norway and Zambia, the Advisory Committee has guided UNETPSA in creating a future, through education and training, for thousands of disadvantaged South Africans. Let us also extend our gratitude to the officials in the United Nations Secretariat who are conscientiously executing their responsibility of administering the Programme.

My Government believes that with continued and, hopefully, increased donor support UNETPSA can play a greater role in addressing South Africa's critical human-resources needs during this transitional period. It would be most unfortunate if this United Nations Programme, one of the most practically supportive of all United Nations programmes, should meet a premature demise at a moment when it is most relevant and when it is functioning at its top efficiency. I assure the Assembly that the international community's continued support for the enhancement of UNETPSA is of inestimable value to the Government of National Unity and the people of South Africa.

Mr. Graf Zu Rantzau (Germany): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union, and Austria, Finland and Sweden support the statement.

The European Union welcomes the draft resolution that we have before us on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. We have always recognized the valuable assistance rendered by this Programme to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. Member States of the European Union have therefore contributed substantially to it.

The European Union wishes to recall the particularly important role that the Programme played during the time of apartheid in South Africa. We are aware that this era, which is now behind us, has left a sombre legacy of unfulfilled needs in the field of education and training. During the present, critical period of its development, South Africa's human resource needs are overwhelming: the training of the disadvantaged black majority of South Africans will be crucial for the economic and social development of the country. It is exactly in this field that the Programme is making a valuable contribution.

The European Union hopes that the draft resolution will be adopted by consensus. At the same time, the European Union wishes to emphasize the important role other United Nations agencies, in particular the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), can play in Southern Africa. With the establishment of the new South Africa, these institutions are now finally in a position to operate in the country and thus to contribute fully to the development of South Africa in the educational sector.

The European Union is confident that the Advisory Committee on the Programme, when reviewing the future of the Programme, will take this important aspect into proper account.

Mr. Chabala (Zambia): My delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Permanent Representative of Norway, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa for his introductory statement. As Vice-Chairman of the Advisory Committee my delegation would like to avail itself of this opportunity to pay tribute to him and his delegation for the efficient and dedicated leadership provided to the Programme over the years. We also wish to express Zambia's deep gratitude to the people and the Government of Norway for their generous contribution to the Programme and to the larger cause of peace, democracy and human rights in Southern Africa.

Since its establishment by the General Assembly, the Programme has made a commendable contribution and continues to provide a positive and invaluable input to the development of the countries and peoples under its mandate. It has made a significant and direct contribution to the development of human resources in various fields. It has sponsored thousands of students, many of whom are now occupying positions of leadership and influence in their respective countries, notably Zimbabwe, Namibia and, most recently, South Africa. Its graduates are making a major difference in all areas, including governance, public management, business, law, engineering, the sciences, education and vocational training. They are indeed exerting an enormous impact on the welfare of their communities and touching the lives of ordinary individuals. We are therefore proud of the commendable services it provides. Indeed the United Nations has just cause to congratulate itself.

In recent years, the Programme has rightly focused its valuable services on the needs of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, as the Secretary-General's report clearly indicates. In particular, we commend the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee to reorient the programme so that it can best address the priority needs of the new democratic South Africa. In this regard, it is important that the Programme continue to be guided by the new Government's policy on human resource development as reflected in its reconstruction and development programme. We welcome the continued focus of the Programme's activities and substantial resources on capacity-building and strengthening black and other institutions of higher learning. We are also confident that it will continue to make use of its catalytic role in arranging co-sponsorships and tuition waivers for training in sectors previously neglected for the disadvantaged black majority.

We commend the Programme for implementing its training activities in a highly cost-effective manner. This has undoubtedly contributed to its tremendous success. In this respect, we are pleased to note that 93 per cent of the students under the Programme are in South Africa or in other low-cost countries and only seven per cent are placed in high-cost countries, in fields not readily available in South Africa. The programme has thus successfully reflected the recommendation of the 1989 evaluation report. We are also gratified by the slight increase in 1994 contributions and pledges to the Programme from approximately $3.27 million to $3.3 million. This has led to an increase in the number of sponsored students to 2,630, from 2,553 in 1993.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the Department for Development Support and Management Services for their efficient administration of the Programme. We also convey our sincere gratitude to all those who have supported and continue to support the Programme through their contributions, scholarships or places in their educational institutions.

My delegation supports the draft resolution before us and would like to commend its adoption by consensus.

Mr. Otuyelu (Nigeria): My delegation would like to express our appreciation to the Chairman of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the members of the Advisory Committee for their invaluable contribution and personal commitment to its success.

The changed situation in South Africa has brought new challenges. It is hoped that the resources available for anti-apartheid efforts will be re-directed into the training of personnel and reforming of the old structures which, regrettably, supported the official discrimination, and it is in respect of this that the Programme has a significant role to play.

We are happy to note that the extension of operations into areas from which the majority of people in southern Africa were previously barred — science, mathematics, technology, law and social sciences — where the challenges for a transformed society will be great. We also welcome the emphasis placed on the training of the citizens of this part of the continent to address those important areas of endeavour. We also note with satisfaction the emphasis placed on a cost-effective approach. We commend the Advisory Committee for this important emphasis. We are also pleased that the optimal use of available resources has strengthened the confidence of donors and supporters of the Programme.

It is my Government's belief that the international community will continue to extend the usual support which has brought about the success we have all celebrated and for which the African region is very grateful. We appeal for the necessary understanding and for continued support and help in improving local capacity-building and manpower training, which will support the young democratic Administration in South Africa and the region as a whole. Most especially during this transition period, when the challenges are enormous, the manpower needed to address the social and economic issues in the region requires the support of the international community.

My Government would like to be associated with this draft resolution, and it is therefore joining in sponsoring it. We hope it will be adopted by consensus.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/49/L.27. The following countries have become sponsors of the draft resolution: Ethiopia, France, Guyana and Uganda.

May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution A/49/L.27?

Draft resolution A/49/L.27 was adopted (resolution 49/17).

The President (*interpretation from French*): May I take it that the Assembly wishes to conclude its consideration of agenda item 41?

It was so decided.

Agenda item 37

Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief assistance of the United Nations, including special economic assistance

(a) Strengthening of the coordination of emergency humanitarian assistance of the United Nations

- **(i) Report of the Secretary-General (A/49/177, Corr.1 and Add.1)**
- **(ii) Draft resolution (A/49/L.19)**

(b) Special economic assistance to individual countries or regions

- **(i) Reports of the Secretary-General (A/49/158, A/49/263 and Corr.1, A/49/356, A/49/376, A/49/387 and Corr.1, A/49/388, A/49/396, A/49/397, A/49/431, A/49/456, A/49/466, A/49/470, A/49/516, A/49/562, A/49/581, A/49/683)**
- **(ii) Draft resolutions (A/49/L.26, A/49/L.28, A/49/L.30, A/49/L.31, A/49/L.32, A/49/L.34, A/49/L.36)**

(c) International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction

- **(i) Note by the Secretary-General (A/49/453)**
- **(ii) Report of the World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction (A/CONF.172/9 and Add.1)**
- **(iii) Draft resolutions (A/49/L.21, A/49/L.29)**

(d) International cooperation to mitigate the environmental consequences on Kuwait and other countries in the region resulting from the situation between Iraq and Kuwait: report of the Secretary-General (A/49/207 and Corr.1)

(f) Emergency international assistance for a solution to the problem of refugees, the restoration of total peace, reconstruction and socio-economic development in war-stricken Rwanda: draft resolution (A/49/L.24/Rev.1)

(g) Special assistance to countries receiving refugees from Rwanda: draft resolution (A/49/L.17/Rev.1)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I wish to inform members that the Assembly will consider agenda item 37 (e), "Emergency international assistance for peace, normalcy and reconstruction of war-stricken Afghanistan", at a later date.

On agenda item 37 (a), the Assembly has before it draft resolution A/49/L.19, entitled "Participation of volunteers, 'White Helmets', in activities of the United Nations in the field of humanitarian relief, rehabilitation and technical cooperation for development".

Secondly, under sub-item (b), there are six draft resolutions: A/49/L.26, entitled "Assistance to Mozambique"; A/49/L.28, entitled "Economic assistance to States affected by the implementation of the Security Council resolutions imposing sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)"; A/49/L.30, entitled "Financing of the Palestinian Police Force"; A/49/L.31, entitled "Special emergency assistance for the economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi"; A/49/L.32, entitled "Assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Liberia"; and A/49/L.36, entitled "International cooperation and assistance to alleviate the consequences of war in Croatia and to facilitate its recovery".

Thirdly, under sub-item (c), there are two draft resolutions: A/49/L.21, entitled "International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction"; and A/49/L.29, "Environmental early warning".

Fourthly, under sub-item (f), there is draft resolution A/49/L.24/Rev.1, entitled "Emergency international assistance for a solution to the problem of refugees, the restoration of total peace, reconstruction and socio-economic development in war-stricken Rwanda".

Fifthly, under sub-item (g), there is draft resolution A/49/L.17/Rev.1, entitled "Special assistance to countries receiving refugees from Rwanda".

I wish to propose that the list of speakers on this item be closed at 11.15 a.m. today.

If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to that proposal.

It was so decided.

Mr. Butler (Australia), President of the Economic and Social Council: I have the honour to address the Assembly in my capacity as President of the Economic and Social Council. I do so under this very important item of the Assembly's agenda on the strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief assistance of the United Nations, including special economic assistance.

At its 46th plenary meeting, on 27 July this year, the Economic and Social Council gave its attention to the relevant General Assembly resolutions, in particular resolutions 46/182 of 19 December 1991, 47/168 of 22 December 1992 and 48/57 of 14 December 1993, and to the agreed conclusions on the coordination segment of its own substantive session of 1993.

Having considered those documents and agreed conclusions, the Economic and Social Council took a decision which had three parts. The first part welcomed with interest and appreciation the report of the Secretary-General on the strengthening of the coordination of emergency humanitarian assistance of the United Nations and noted the useful information provided by the Emergency Relief Coordinator in the introductory statement he made before the Council on 13 July 1994.

In its second part, the decision of the Council fully recognized the rich contribution of the report to the numerous aspects leading to the full implementation of General Assembly resolutions 46/182 and 48/57, but requested that further information be provided on two issues: first, information on the problem of rapid-response coordination, on which the recommendations of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee were requested as a matter of urgency in paragraphs 11 and 13 of Assembly resolution 48/57, including further information on the humanitarian assistance coordinators at the country level referred to in paragraph 12 of the report of the Secretary-General and their relationship to the system of Resident Coordinators; and, secondly, information on the shortcomings in the functioning of the Central Emergency Revolving Fund, the corrective measures required and the desirability of increasing the resources available to the Fund, provided that consultations were duly conducted to that effect, as called for in resolution 48/57.

In its third part — the part which gives reasons for my reporting to the Assembly today — the decision was that, given that the Council was not in a position to take a final decision because of the lack of sufficient information, the interim solution mentioned in paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 48/57 remained temporarily valid until its consideration by the Assembly at its forty-ninth session — that is, this session. It noted that the Assembly would also have to consider the recommendations mentioned in paragraphs 11 and 13 of the resolution, following informal consultations to be conducted on those particular questions by the President of the Council upon receipt of the information requested with respect to the problem of rapid-response coordination. The Council then invited the President of the Council to submit his conclusions on those informal consultations to the General Assembly.

That is the relevant legislation and background for the issues which the Assembly has before it. We have had a want of further information and, deriving from that, a need for further consultations. That information has now been substantially provided and those consultations, I can today report to the Assembly, have been in progress, conducted by me as President of the Council. But I must also report to the Assembly that substantial consultations have been conducted by Peter Hansen, the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, and those too have pointed the way towards common solutions and agreements on these outstanding issues.

I can therefore report that progress is being made but solutions and widespread agreement have not yet been found. I do believe that the debate that will now commence, together with the continuation of these processes of consultation, should lead shortly to agreement on these outstanding issues. As that work progresses, it will be handed on to the Permanent Representative of Austria, whom you, Mr. President, have appointed, as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly, to serve as coordinator of resolutions and decisions under agenda item 37. I know we all have full confidence in his great skill and sensitivity and can feel certain that he will be able to craft relevant decisions and resolutions for ready adoption by consensus by the General Assembly.

I think that it remains for me to take this opportunity to express the deep appreciation of my delegation, and my own deep gratitude as President of the Economic and Social Council — and I know I speak for many — for the outstanding work and dedication that has been shown by our Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, Mr. Peter Hansen.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I now call upon the representative of Argentina, to introduce draft resolution A/49/L.19.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour today to introduce to the General Assembly for its consideration draft resolution A/49/L.19, "Participation of volunteers, 'White Helmets', in activities of the United Nations in the field of humanitarian relief, rehabilitation and technical cooperation for development".

My delegation is very pleased and greatly honoured to introduce a draft resolution with so many sponsors. I would draw attention to the fact that to the 45 countries that are already listed should be added the names of the Bahamas, Belgium, Brazil, Ecuador, Honduras, Madagascar, the Philippines and Suriname. This brings the number of sponsors to 53.

The support of so many countries for this proposal, which was originally put forward by the President of Argentina, Mr. Carlos Menem, means that the draft resolution now enjoys the support of all these sponsors: hence it can be considered as a joint endeavour to find solutions to the problems confronting the operational activities of the United Nations in the rehabilitation phase for development in the aftermath of emergency situations.

The preparation of the draft resolution before the Assembly today eloquently attests to the fact that it is possible to work in harmony when considering problems of undoubted importance that bring us together in a common endeavour to solve them. We congratulate all groups and friendly countries for their intelligent and positive cooperation in framing it. I am convinced that that spirit of cooperation will continue to prevail and that in a few days we will have a consensus text. In this connection, the appointment of the Permanent Representative of Austria, Ambassador Sucharipa, to guide the informal consultations seems to us to be an excellent idea, and we should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, for having made it.

I should like briefly to explain the concept underlying the "White Helmets" initiative and how it fits in with other resolutions on humanitarian assistance, in particular resolution 46/182 and the Economic and Social Council's consideration that resulted from decision 1993/205, which led to the agreed conclusions of 1993 that now form a part of United Nations decisions in this area.

The "White Helmets" initiative is designed to ease the transition of this concept from the theoretical to the operational. What exactly does this mean? In the principles governing emergency humanitarian assistance a clear distinction is made between the emergency, rehabilitation and development. However, little has so far been accomplished in this specific area of multilateral cooperation. The present proposal is designed to bridge this gap in United Nations operational activities and to mobilize the Organization's potential in the area.

The novelty of the proposal contained in the draft resolution is threefold. First, it involves developing countries in an area from which they have so far been absent in operational terms; secondly, it promotes the participation of the private sector in financing; and, thirdly, it utilizes the system of skilled volunteers with special professional training to provide the quick and adequate assistance required by the Secretary-General in each particular case.

The proposal is consistent with two of the guidelines adopted in 1993. First, rehabilitation and reconstruction components must form part of the very first phase in responding to emergencies and, secondly, specific resources must be allocated to rehabilitation and reconstruction.

In this context the draft resolution highlights the institutional arrangements within the system and utilizes the United Nations potential for activities in the area of humanitarian assistance and in the promotion of a smooth transition from relief to rehabilitation, reconstruction and development, bearing in mind that development activities can be long term. Thus there is a clear division of labour between the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, which provides coordination, and the United Nations Volunteers with regard to the operational activities in the proposal.

Lastly, in the intergovernmental sphere the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly are to carry out their respective responsibilities, as stipulated in resolution 48/162, in the formulation of policies and the provision of guidance to and coordination of United Nations activities in the field.

This subject will be discussed again in 1995 in both the Economic and Social Council and in this forum when we take up the report we are requesting in the draft resolution. In the meantime, countries will be acquiring specific experience on the basis of the policy we adopt at this session. I am convinced that in 1995 the balance sheet will be a positive one and that countries that are today submitting this initiative will be able to include among their achievements that of having given concrete expression to moving the close link between emergency and rehabilitation for development from the theoretical to the operational.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Ghana, to introduce draft resolutions A//49/L.17/Rev.1 and L.26 and L.32.

Mr. Aggrey (Ghana): It gives me great pleasure to introduce, on behalf of the members of the African Group as the sponsors, draft resolutions A/49/L.17/Rev.1, entitled "Special assistance to countries receiving refugees from Rwanda".

As we are all aware; the tragic events in Rwanda following the death of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, led to a massive exodus of Rwandese refugees — millions of them — across the borders to Zaire, Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda. The draft resolution draws attention not only to the plight of the Rwandese refugees in those neighbouring countries but also to that of their Governments and peoples, which were forced by circumstances beyond their control to receive and cater for the refugees, notwithstanding the fact that their own resources are meagre and that they lack the necessary infrastructure to deal with the situation.

While the countries that are affected remain committed to assisting the Rwandese refugees and are grateful for all the assistance that has been provided so far, the grave socio-economic, health and ecological impact of this massive and unexpected presence of refugees on their peoples calls for the support of the entire international community.

The draft resolution therefore urges all States, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and the international financial and development institutions to provide the necessary technical and material assistance with a view to facilitating restoration of the basic services used up or destroyed in the countries receiving Rwandese refugees.

The draft resolution is being submitted in the hope that the General Assembly will adopt it by consensus.

On behalf of the African Group, which Ghana has the honour to serve as Chairman for the month of November, I introduce with pleasure draft resolution A/49/L.26, entitled "Assistance to Mozambique", which is sponsored by the Group.

I am pleased to announce that Brazil has joined the sponsors.

The draft resolution recalls the donors conference held in Rome in 1992 and the follow-up meeting held at Maputo in 1993, whose main objective was to mobilize resources for post-war programming in support of the resettlement and reintegration of returning refugees, internally displaced persons and demobilized soldiers. It links the need for humanitarian assistance with the need for economic aid for national reconstruction and development. It also welcomes the successful implementation of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique signed in Rome in 1992, which culminated in the recent successful multiparty elections in the country. The draft resolution commends the people and the Government of Mozambique for their diligence and tireless efforts in the search for a lasting peace and stability in their country.

The task for Mozambique now is to repatriate, resettle and reintegrate the numerous refugees who fled their country during its time of trouble and to promote an effective national reconstruction and development strategy to satisfy the aspirations and needs of its people. To this end, the draft resolution calls upon the international community and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to continue their generous financial, material and technical assistance to Mozambique.

It is the hope of the African Group that the draft resolution will be adopted by consensus.

In my capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of November, I am pleased to introduce draft resolution A/49/L.32 entitled "Assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Liberia".

At successive sessions of the General Assembly since its forty-fifth session the African Group has been one of the sponsors of a draft resolution calling for economic relief and other assistance for the reconstruction of Liberia following the eruption of the civil conflict in December 1989. As in previous years, the draft resolution that I am now introducing has been updated to reflect current developments in that country.

In the preambular paragraphs, the General Assembly recalls its previous resolutions, as well as the recent Security Council resolution 950 (1994) of 21 October 1994, in which the Council, *inter alia*, decided to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia until 13 January 1995, called on all parties and factions to cease hostilities and agree to a timetable for disarmament and demobilization, and called on Liberians to seek political accommodation and national reconciliation.

The draft resolution commends the Economic Community of West African States for its continued efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Liberian conflict, and it commends the current Chairman of that organization for his positive role in the reactivating of the peace process. It notes that security and logistic problems continue to hamper the delivery of relief assistance, particularly in the interior of the country, and expresses concern about the effects of the protracted conflict on the socio-economic conditions in Liberia.

In the operative part of the draft resolution the General Assembly expresses gratitude to Member States, the international community and governmental and non-governmental organizations for their response to appeals by the Government of Liberia and the Secretary-General and requests that such assistance be continued. It also appeals to the international community and intergovernmental organizations to provide technical, financial and other assistance to programmes identified in the report of the Secretary-General.

The draft resolution calls upon all parties and factions to respect the safety and security of personnel of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. It also requests the Secretary-General to continue to coordinate the work of the United Nations system and to mobilize resources for the holding of democratic elections and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country, as well as to make provision for a round-table conference of donors when conditions permit.

As Liberia emerges from the war, the good will and support of the international community should be intensified to help the country to achieve peace, stability, reconstruction and development. I therefore request that this draft resolution be adopted unanimously.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Bulgaria to introduce draft resolution A/49/L.28.

Mr. Pashovski (Bulgaria): In addressing agenda item 37, my delegation would like to focus particularly on the issue of economic assistance to States affected by the implementation of the Security Council resolutions imposing sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

First of all, allow me to express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for the steps he has taken to address this important and urgent issue appropriately. The report (A/49/356), prepared in compliance with General Assembly resolution 48/210, in our view offers a proper analysis of the seriousness of the problem and contains useful suggestions and proposals that could be taken as a sound basis for further action.

It has already been widely recognized that the application of the comprehensive set of trade and economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) has imposed an extremely heavy burden on neighbouring and other affected States. The combination of a number of factors has placed these countries in an extraordinarily difficult situation. The most important of these factors are the severance of the bilateral economic ties with the former Yugoslavia, the disruption of the traditional transport and communications links with the rest of the continent and the precarious economic situation of most of the affected States, which are undergoing a major political, economic and social transition.

An additional burden is imposed by the direct financial expenses incurred by these States for maintaining an elaborate administrative system of monitoring and control over the strict implementation of the sanctions.

The impact of those factors has already produced grave economic and social consequences, which jeopardize political and social stability.

In the case of Bulgaria, the sanctions regime has caused enormous losses to the national economy by disrupting our direct transport and communications links with Central and Western European countries, both by road and on the Danube, thus affecting the competitiveness of Bulgarian exports and increasing import costs.

Prior to the imposition of the sanctions, 65 per cent of all Bulgaria's external trade with Central and Western Europe transited through Yugoslavia. In addition, the disruption of the transport and communications links is occurring in a period when the redirection of Bulgarian exports towards the European Union and European Free Trade Area countries is well under way. The impact on the country's balance of payments as a result of this disruption considerably undermines the efforts aimed at the structural adjustment of the national economy. This is a trade-distorting factor, and therefore the negative impact of the sanctions on the development of the market and on the newly emerging private sector is jeopardizing the country's overall economic situation.

As has already been pointed out in a number of cases, Bulgaria's total losses as a result of the sanctions for the period July 1992 to December 1993 alone amounted to $3.616 billion. According to estimates of the International Monetary Fund, the negative impact of the sanctions on the country's balance of payments for the same period equalled $1.115 billion. Forecasts for the year 1994 estimate that this adverse effect will be roughly the same. As can be seen from the report of the Secretary-General, the other affected countries have suffered significant losses as well.

Given the seriousness of the problem, my country has undertaken all necessary procedures to request assistance, and has provided the Security Council with the relevant documentation on the losses inflicted.

At the initiative of Bulgaria and a number of other interested States, the General Assembly, at its forty-eighth session, adopted resolution 48/210, aimed at mobilizing international economic assistance for the States affected by the sanctions. In that resolution, the Secretary-General was mandated to monitor this process and to report to the Security Council, as well as to the General Assembly, on action taken to alleviate the difficulties of these States.

I take this opportunity to express my delegation's sincere appreciation to all Member States and the relevant organs, programmes and specialized agencies of the United Nations system, including the international financial institutions, for the consideration and assistance provided in response to the appeal for support for the affected States, including balance-of-payments and structural-adjustment support. We commend the efforts deployed by the European Union and the G-24 in this regard, especially in the field of infrastructure and communications projects. Detailed proposals for short-, medium- and long-term projects put forward by the interested States, including Bulgaria, were considered by the ad hoc meeting in Vienna of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the G-24 Transport Group meeting for the Balkans earlier this year. The realization of these projects, which will speed up work on the Pan-European transport network, depends to a large extent on the fulfilment of the partners' financial commitments.

At the same time, it is necessary to recognize that the financial assistance received so far has been mostly in the form of short-term, non-concessional loans at market terms. This has assisted States to cope only partially with the immediate negative impact of the sanctions. The medium-term consequences, in our view, have not yet been adequately addressed.

The report of the Secretary-General (A/49/356) reveals that most of the States and the elements of the United Nations system helping the affected States contemplate intensifying their current assistance activities and cooperation programmes. However, the absence of a special procedure to address directly the adverse spill-over effects of the sanctions on the affected States has to a large extent tempered the efforts being made to find an adequate approach for addressing the problem effectively.

The conclusion in the report that there is a lack of viable internationally recognized methodology for the evaluation of the losses inflicted must also be taken into consideration. Despite the lack of such a methodology, the overall estimates show that the total adverse impact of the sanctions is such that a concerted and multifaceted response from the international community is required.

The absence of clearly defined financial instruments for the implementation of Article 50 of the United Nations Charter in general, and in the case of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in particular, is also stressed in the report of the Secretary-General. This fact makes it difficult to disentangle the assistance channelled under resolution 48/210 from ongoing assistance programmes and co-operation activities.

In the light view of those considerations, my delegation shares the conclusion reiterated in the report of the Secretary-General that

> "appeals to deal with the economic impact of sanctions on non-target States have so far depended on the political will of countries in a position to provide assistance or on the capacity of financial institutions to respond". *(A/49/356, para. 80).*

The Republic of Bulgaria is fully aware that the elaboration of a comprehensive mechanism for the application of Article 50 of the United Nations Charter is a time-consuming and complex political endeavour. Work in this field should continue in the future. At the same time, the international community should take advantage of the existing opportunities to assist on a case-by-case basis third States affected by sanctions.

Guided by such an approach, my delegation is of the view that the following suggestions could be considered as possible steps to help the countries affected:

First, granting more favourable access to the markets of the industrialized countries for the goods and services of the affected States. The ratification process of the Association agreement with the European Union should be speeded up.

Secondly, an increase in direct foreign investment and freer access to credit sources.

Thirdly, technical and financial support for infrastructure projects for transport and communications corridors, mainly the East-West and South-North corridors.

Fourthly, involvement of companies of the affected States in humanitarian assistance to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), financed by international organizations and donor countries.

Fifthly, facilitating procedures for transshipments through the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), both by road and on the Danube.

Sixthly, improvement of the procedures of the Sanctions Committee in issuing authorizations for the export of goods from the affected States for general humanitarian purposes on a priority basis and improved effectiveness of the work of the Committee as a whole. Increased openness and transparency in its decision-making process should contribute to this goal.

Finally, without wishing to undermine the efforts made so far to assist the affected States to cope with their special problems, I should like to reiterate that, bearing in mind the magnitude of the total adverse impact of the sanctions, the response is still far from being adequate. We are confident that, in compliance with Article 49 of the Charter of the United Nations, Member States will join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

Against that background, I have the honour to present the draft resolution contained in document A/49/L.28, entitled "Economic assistance to States affected by the implementation of the Security Council resolutions imposing sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)".

The draft resolution is co-sponsored by the following Member States: Albania, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Spain, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, and my own country, Bulgaria, Argentina and Denmark having joined the original list of co-sponsors.

The main thrust of the draft resolution is to renew the appeal for support by the international community and by the relevant organs, programmes and specialized agencies of the United Nations system, including the international financial institutions, for the affected States, and to continue the mandate of the Secretary-General to monitor and provide the necessary impetus to the overall implementation of the process.

We are hopeful that the draft resolution will receive unanimous support by all Member States and will be adopted by consensus.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I now call on the representative of Croatia to introduce draft resolution A/49/L.36.

Mr. Nobilo (Croatia): At the outset I should like to note the great importance of United Nations humanitarian aid and disaster-relief assistance programmes throughout the world. The volume, value and scope of the programmes have significantly increased in the last decade. The present debate should contribute positively to the many calls for streamlining and rationalizing the numerous programmes, agencies and initiatives that have appeared in the last decade. As humanitarian and disaster-relief programmes are emerging as one of the major policy instruments for maintaining peace and stability in high-risk areas around the world, the debate on this issue in the General Assembly becomes even more important.

The new aspects of humanitarian and disaster-relief programmes in conflict areas around the world require new ideas. The framework and principles established years ago to meet the short-term consequences of natural disasters and human transgressions are now being called into question by new realities, with short-term imbalances in the economic and social welfare of large groups of people becoming long-term imbalances. The special economic assistance programmes, which in the past formed an irregular bridge between short-term emergency relief programmes and longer-term development programmes, may now become a major aspect of international assistance policy.

My delegation is of the view that the special economic programmes should play a more significant role in dealing with the new humanitarian and social realities around the world. The special economic programmes may need to become substitutes for certain emergency programmes that become extended over time. Similarly, other emergency programmes may need to be transformed into special economic programmes in regions where the level of development is high enough — where sustenance needs can be met through new local activities and development.

Every humanitarian programme has its own specific elements; no two efforts are alike. In addition to the obvious specific aspects of humanitarian situations, such as sources, time and the number of those affected, the level of development of a particular area should play a major role in designing an appropriate assistance programme for a country. Because of this unique aspect of all humanitarian situations, we believe that humanitarian programmes should be need-based. This approach requires new ways of assigning and distributing available relief assistance resources.

The humanitarian situation in my country provides a good example of a need-based programme being a must. Croatia has been affected by war for three years now. It is also a country in transition, from a centrally planned economy to a market economy. It is a middle-level developed country with a strong natural and human resource base. Croatia still needs traditional humanitarian assistance, because it cares for a large number of displaced persons and refugees and bears the serious consequences of war. However, its resource base would allow it to take care of those traditional humanitarian needs itself soon if some of the emergency resources were transformed into development programmes and if new development programmes were instituted to rebuild Croatia's war-damaged economy.

The present humanitarian assistance to Croatia, based on traditional emergency programmes, is in many ways, unfortunately, promoting and maintaining the dangerous status quo. It perpetuates a dependence on continuous deliveries of basic aid throughout Croatia. Most worrisome, however, is the fact that the present humanitarian assistance programme is supporting the de facto occupation of one quarter of Croatia's territory.

The net effect of international relief operations in the occupied territories of Croatia is slowly but surely to strengthen the Serbian paramilitary forces there. The international community may be mistaken when it talks about humanitarian aid to these territories. Almost everything the international community sends to the occupied territories of Croatia either goes directly to the remnants of the Yugoslav Army and their proxies or substitutes for goods they would take from civilians anyway.

With a need-based humanitarian assistance programme, the international community would be able to help to overcome these serious problems in Croatia. In regard to the occupied territories, programmes could be developed that would begin the Security-Council-mandated economic reintegration process of these territories. Basic humanitarian aid could be distributed through Croatian non-governmental or governmental agencies — or distribution centres outside the occupied territories in Croatia.

Programmes for the distribution of fuel, which, as a humanitarian item, is steadily flowing and is seriously misused for military purposes in the occupied territories, could also be carried out through distribution centres outside these territories in Croatia.

Joint development and management programmes could be established in the occupied territories. As a confidence-building measure, creating new economic opportunities and jobs in Croatia would promote interaction and openness, leading to possible economic cooperation, and would contribute to the process of the peaceful reintegration of Croatian citizens now living in these territories.

I should also like on this occasion to comment on the report of the Secretary-General, document A/49/683, in regard to resolution 48/204 with the same title as the present agenda item. The report falls short of our expectations. The Secretary-General reports that resolution 48/204 saw limited implementation.

The implementation of resolution 48/204 was limited mostly to regular activities of the United Nations humanitarian agencies. We are, nevertheless, very grateful for those efforts. Croatia is also grateful for the efforts made under the Revised Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the former Yugoslavia, which is a special programme. However, much more could have been done in this area, that is, in the area of special economic programmes. Further, our relations and cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme, for instance, have been very productive, but again, they have been limited by regular indicative planning figure programmes.

The Secretary-General states in paragraph 5 of the report that:

> "The full start of reconstruction and rehabilitation activities in many areas has been hampered by the lack of a comprehensive political solution to the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and, in particular, the situation in the United Nations Protected Areas in Croatia." *(A/49/683)*

Similarly, in paragraph 12 he concludes:

> "It is clear, however, that the full implementation of rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes is closely linked to a successful conclusion of current efforts aimed at finding a comprehensive political settlement." *(ibid.)*

From a practical standpoint, my delegation rejects the conclusion that reconstruction and rehabilitation programmes must wait. Croatia has pursued an immediate programme for reconstruction and development in order to prevent a situation where it would be forced to regain its territories by force. It is the view of my Government that the spillover from rising economic activity would positively affect the situation in the occupied territories and lead to a peaceful reintegration of these territories.

My Government has consistently pursued a policy based on diplomatic initiative and peaceful reintegration of its occupied territories with the assistance of the international community. We believe that this policy is consistent with the interests of the international community. As my Government considers economic development and the reconstruction of Croatia's war-torn economy the most significant aspect of this policy and an important aspect of the entire humanitarian programme for Croatia, we come before the Assembly to ask for its support.

I should now like to introduce the draft resolution, document A/49/L.36, entitled "International cooperation and assistance to alleviate the consequences of war in Croatia and to facilitate its recovery", which has been distributed today. The draft resolution is sponsored by: Albania, Argentina, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, Israel, Poland, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkey and the United States of America. The draft resolution calls for timely and need-based action.

It requests the Secretary-General to appoint, within existing resources, a fact-finding expert mission for Croatia to assess the extent of war damage and its consequences for its infrastructure, resources, environment and individuals, and to consider the needs in order to assist the Government of the Republic of Croatia in preparing a programme for the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of Croatia within its entire territory, and to introduce, if appropriate, an international appeal for its funding. We hope that the Assembly will support the draft resolution by consensus.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on the representative of Norway to introduce, on behalf of the Nordic countries, draft resolution A/49/L.30.

Mr. Biorn Lian (Norway): In my statement this morning I shall first, in my national capacity, under agenda item 37 (b) introduce draft resolution A/49/L.30, entitled "Financing of the Palestinian Police Force", after which I shall proceed under agenda item 37(b) to make a statement on behalf of the five Nordic countries on strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief assistance.

Coming then to the first part of my statement, I have the pleasure to introduce draft resolution A/49/L.30 on "Financing of the Palestinian Police Force" on behalf of the following sponsors: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, the Russian Federation, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Norway. After the printed version was circulated Egypt joined the sponsors.

The objective of the draft resolution is to give the Secretary-General the necessary mandate to designate a United Nations agency to act as a multilateral channel for the disbursement of salaries and start-up costs for the Palestinian Police Force. This is a technical draft resolution adhering strictly to agreements reached between the parties.

The Palestinian Police Force was established pursuant to the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements and the Cairo Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area. Following the donors' Conference to Support Middle East Peace, held in Washington on 1 October 1993, an Ad Hoc Liaison Committee was established by the Multilateral Steering Committee, under the Chairmanship of Norway, to effectively coordinate external assistance, including the financing of a Palestinian Police Force. These facts are reflected in the preambular part of the draft resolution.

As reflected in the Oslo Declaration of 13 September this year signed by the parties and Norway, it was decided that the emergency financial needs, including existing arrears of the Palestinian Police should be financed by the donor community for a period ending not later than the end of March 1995.

In order to channel voluntary funds for the disbursement of salaries and start-up costs, discussion were held at the beginning of this session of the General Assembly with, among others, the Secretary-General, with a view to having the United Nations establish the necessary mechanism. In the interim, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency has generously agreed to act as a provisional emergency channel for funds from international donors to the Palestinian Police Force. This provisional measure will, however, soon come to an end, and I therefore express the hope that the General Assembly will adopt this draft resolution by consensus and give the Secretary-General the mandate to designate a United Nations agency for this purpose as soon as possible.

Allow me, in concluding this first part of my intervention, to point to operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, where all Member States are encouraged to give voluntary contributions for this purpose through the designated United Nations agency. Given the extremely serious situation in the area and the very clear need for international assistance, I strongly hope this paragraph is given all due consideration.

I shall now proceed to the second part of my intervention, in which I have the pleasure to make a statement on behalf of the five Nordic countries — Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway — on the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief.

During this past year the United Nations has been involved in a number of large and complex disasters, such as those in Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Liberia, the former Yugoslavia, Haiti and the Caucasus, just to mention some of the most critical ones. In the view of the Nordic countries, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs has met these challenges in a constructive manner, taking into account the difficult circumstances. Access to resources is, however, a prerequisite for a prompt response to emergencies. I therefore strongly stress at the outset the necessity of providing the

Department of Humanitarian Affairs, under the leadership of the Emergency Relief Coordinator, with adequate staff and administrative resources from the regular budget of the United Nations.

Whereas emergency needs have increased manifold in recent years, it is still the same traditional donors that are contributing the major share of the funding. The Nordic countries believe that the time has now come to increase the donor base and also that a greater number of countries are in a position to provide resources to the humanitarian efforts of the United Nations.

Resolution 46/182, adopted by the General Assembly in 1991, provided the United Nations with a framework for the international community's coordinated response to complex emergencies and natural disasters. General Assembly resolution 48/57, adopted last year, underlined the need for coordination in the United Nations system and requested the Emergency Relief Coordinator to further improve coordination and management within the system. In addition to fulfilling the task of being the United Nations focal point in emergency situations, the Emergency Relief Coordinator has an important role in ensuring that the humanitarian dimension, particularly the principles of humanity, neutrality and impartiality of relief assistance, is taken into account in the overall United Nations planning of response to emergencies. The Nordic countries call upon all relevant actors to fully support the Emergency Relief Coordinator in this regard. We support the ongoing efforts to find concrete ways of enhancing the cooperation and integration of planning between the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the Department of Political Affairs.

With reference to the recommendations contained in the Secretary General's report in document A/49/177/Add.1, the Nordic countries would in particular like to stress the following five points.

First, the primary mechanism for coordination of policy issues related to humanitarian assistance and for formulating a coherent and timely response to major and complex emergencies is the Inter-Agency Standing Committee and its Working Group. We feel the Working Group should be given the opportunity both to make decisions on operational matters in emergencies and to explore the possibility of delegating authority to the field as appropriate. Furthermore, we would like to recall that the Inter-Agency Standing Committee should review and decide on arrangements to effectively address gaps in the provision of humanitarian assistance, including such issues as internally displaced persons and demobilization of ex-combatants. We would also like to underline the importance of properly addressing not only immediate humanitarian needs but also the continuum from prevention to longer-term rehabilitation and development.

Secondly, the Nordic countries urge the members of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee to further strengthen the process of consolidated appeals. All concerned operational and humanitarian organizations and agencies must cooperate and participate fully in the preparation of the consolidated appeals. Based on accurate assessment of needs and programme projection, the appeals should be promptly launched and should give specific priorities. This should in turn facilitate quick responses by the international community.

Thirdly, the Resident Coordinator normally coordinates the humanitarian assistance of the United Nations system at the country level. The best possible coordination at the field level is one of the keys to overall coordination of humanitarian assistance. As mentioned in the Emergency Relief Coordinator's report to the Economic and Social Council this summer, field coordination requires qualified personnel to provide leadership on a full-time basis. The Nordic countries welcome the agreement by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee on the designation/appointment of Humanitarian Coordinators in complex emergencies. This is an important step in ensuring that coordination structures in the field are as clear as possible. That agreement must now be followed up. It is our sincere hope that humanitarian coordinators for complex emergencies can, in the future, be appointed without delay and that the right persons will be chosen for the job.

Fourthly, the Economic and Social Council also requested the Emergency Relief Coordinator to provide further information on shortcomings in the functioning of the Central Emergency Revolving Fund (CERF). In the Secretary-General's report the Inter-Agency Standing Committee addresses a number of issues, such as disbursement of funds, repayment of advances, the level of resources and the CERF's complementarity with emergency funds of operational agencies. The Committee also puts forward several recommendations concerning the use of the fund. The Nordic countries would like to emphasize the importance of finding a solution that would make it possible to improve the accessibility of funds from CERF in an emergency situation. On this point let me also add that it is important to expand the donor base to include non-traditional donors.

Fifthly, and lastly, the Secretary-General's report deals very comprehensively with issues related to the United Nations capability to respond effectively and efficiently to emergencies. The Nordic countries would like to stress the need for emergency preparedness at the national level. At this session of the General Assembly informal consultations on a draft resolution dealing with this issue have already taken place.

It is our view that all countries should aim at establishing emergency preparedness systems covering personnel and equipment that could be deployed to disaster areas on short notice. We recommend that such national systems be designed in close cooperation with the United Nations. We feel that the United Nations could indeed utilize these arrangements as vital elements in both natural disasters and complex emergencies.

The Nordic countries stress their support for the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction and welcome the outcome of the World Conference. We endorse the Yokohama Strategy and Plan of Action which should be fully implemented and followed up. Natural disaster reduction and mitigation must now become an integral part of the United Nations development efforts and should be dealt with in the Country Strategy Notes of disaster-prone countries.

We need to continue to address gaps and imbalances in the capacity of the United Nations system in emergencies. This has implications for several of the United Nations agencies that report to the Economic and Social Council. In our view, the 1995 session of the Economic and Social Council provides a good opportunity for reviewing these issues based on a report from members of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, through the Department of Humanitarian Affairs.

Recent situations have taught us that, in order to gain access to populations in need of assistance in complex emergencies, relief work often has to be undertaken in increasingly dangerous environments. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that the security of relief personnel is appropriately secured. The Nordic countries support the measures taken by the United Nations with the aim of securing the safety of relief personnel to the greatest extent possible, and we urge that this work be continued and strengthened.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I wish to inform members that consultations on the draft resolutions submitted under item 37 and its sub-items will now be coordinated by Ambassador Sucharipa of Austria.

As a first step, it would be useful and necessary to review the draft resolutions with a view to identifying those that may need further negotiations and those which do not.

In this connection, I wish to remind members that, as announced in the Journal, the first meeting of the informal consultations by the Coordinator will be held on Monday, 28 November, at 3 p.m. in Conference Room 8.

All concerned delegations are urged to attend the informal consultations.

I now call on the representative of Algeria who, on behalf of the Group of 77 and China, will make a statement during which he will introduce draft resolution A/49/L.31.

Mr. Belhimeur (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Before speaking on behalf of the members of the Group of 77 and China on agenda item 37 entitled "Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief assistance of the United Nations, including special economic assistance", I would like on behalf of those same members to introduce the draft resolution in A/49/L.31 entitled "Special economic assistance to individual countries or regions", concerning urgent economic assistance to Burundi.

Members will recall that on 25 October 1994 the General Assembly adopted a resolution encouraging the people of Burundi to continue their reconciliation efforts through recently established consensus-building institutions. Today the Assembly is called upon to send a message of hope to those same people, the hope of seeing economic recovery and reconstruction with the assistance of Member States, United Nations agencies and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. The delegations on whose behalf I have the honour to speak are in no doubt that the draft resolution before the General Assembly will receive the full support needed through a consensus adoption which will be a testimony of solidarity and encouragement to one of the Member States that is trying to restore production and rebuild its infrastructure.

After having introduced the draft resolution on Burundi, I would like now to speak on agenda item 37. It is an honour and privilege to speak on behalf of the Group of 77 and China on the strengthening of the coordination of emergency humanitarian assistance of the United Nations and on the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction. I take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for the report he has put before us for consideration.

The United Nations has, in various ways, been involved in the search for solutions to a series of crises which have marked international life in the past few years. In a rapidly changing world, Member States have felt the urgent need to develop new instruments to meet these crises and to attack the structural causes behind them. By adopting resolution 46/182, our organization gained an instrument which provides it with an operational framework for coordinated international action with regard to emergency humanitarian assistance and natural disasters. The draft resolution is also a point of reference which emphasizes, on the one hand, the importance of the guiding principles behind that kind of action, namely impartiality and neutrality, and, on the other, the need to put humanitarian assistance in a development context in order to break the cycle of dependence of populations receiving such assistance.

While at the institutional level the establishment of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the creation of the post of Emergency Relief Coordinator have created conditions for the effective implementation of United Nations action in the humanitarian area, on the other hand, given the growing number of emergency situations, the problem of financial resources remains and calls for additional efforts on the part of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs if it is to live up to the responsibilities it has been given. The situation of the Central Emergency Revolving Fund (CERF) is of concern in this respect. Since it was established in May 1992, the Fund has shown its usefulness. Now the level of its resources endangers even its very existence. Emergency action must be undertaken to increase its financial basis through an appeal for additional contributions from donor countries and also to ensure the regular repayment by the debtor organizations.

Moreover, the Group of 77 and China would like to recall the reservations they have already expressed in the past with regard to the appointment of humanitarian coordinators. We feel that serious thought and an exhaustive study of this matter are necessary and that such a process in any event must be carried out in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

Mr. Arzoumanian (Armenia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Since the dawn of time mankind has faced natural disasters, which have brought human tragedy and incalculable material losses. Despite the march of time and technological progress, these phenomena continue to be a part of life. Worse still, rather than waning, they have become more common throughout the world, with ever more devastating human, economic and environmental consequences.

By its resolution 44/236 of 22 December 1989, the General Assembly declared the 1990s the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction, reflecting growing awareness of the need for joint international action, if not to eliminate the threat to mankind posed by natural disasters, then at least to mitigate their effects through a framework of action for disaster prevention or risk management.

We are pleased to note that there has been notable progress since the launching of the Framework of Action for the Decade. At the national level, 135 national centres or liaison centres have been established; they have begun their field activities, with more or less satisfactory results, especially with respect to alerting the public and the authorities to the danger of natural disasters and to drafting legislation and regulations to improve disaster prevention.

At the regional level, several initiatives in the form of conferences or information seminars have given rise to fruitful exchanges of experience. Commendably successful coordinated action, supported by the international community at the time of the 1992-1993 drought in southern Africa helped save millions from death by a famine that had been forecast.

At the international level, the World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction, held last May in Yokohama, Japan, brought together delegations from 150 countries and the representatives of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. The Conference made it possible to assess the international community's awareness of the threat posed by natural disasters and the world community's will to take joint action.

Natural disasters are not confined to any one region. They strike rich and poor countries alike. But the poor countries suffer the gravest consequences, with the destruction of basic infrastructure, industrial facilities, human settlements and agricultural produce. Owing to their low level of development, they are obviously more vulnerable to the consequences of natural disasters than industrialized countries are.

Yet the knowledge and technical means for early warning and prevention are sufficiently available throughout the world to prevent natural disasters from becoming even worse tragedies. This knowledge could be disseminated, as proposed in the Yokohama Strategy, by pooling technologies for disaster prevention and mitigation and making them available to developing countries on favourable terms, and in a timely manner, in the context of technical cooperation.

In this spirit, while it stressed the primary responsibility of States for protecting their populations, their infrastructures and other national assets, the Yokohama Conference also called on the international community to demonstrate the political will to mobilize sufficient resources to support the developing countries in their efforts to combat natural disasters. The least-developed countries, small island developing States and landlocked countries were identified as the most vulnerable.

The disaster-prevention arrangements established in connection with the Decade and refined at the Yokohama Conference have great merit. The adoption of integrated prevention policies and the improvement of regional and international coordination and cooperation between vulnerable countries in the face of disasters could help reduce the losses caused by these natural events. But these arrangements can be effective only if appropriate funds are provided. To that end, it is important to guarantee the resources necessary to finance activities in the framework of the Decade and to ensure continuity in the functioning of its secretariat. Donor countries, international organizations and all other public and private institutions are asked not to ignore the appeal reiterated at Yokohama for voluntary contributions to the Trust Fund for the Decade.

If there is one respect in which rich and poor are equal, it is in their inability to put a final stop to the destructive forces of nature. But that is not true of preventing and mitigating the consequences of those forces. The challenge for the future is to succeed in achieving equality in that sphere as well. That is what we believe the message of the Yokohama Conference to mean, and what we hope to see translated into concrete cooperation and solidarity.

The President: I call next on the representative of Germany, who will introduce the draft resolution A/49/L.29 on behalf of the European Union, Austria, Finland and Sweden.

Mr. Henze (Germany): In speaking on behalf of the European Union, I wish first to address agenda item 37, "Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief assistance of the United Nations, including special economic assistance". We want to thank the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, Mr. Peter Hansen, for his comprehensive and informative introduction of the very pertinent questions we are discussing today. Since the establishment of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, the provision of humanitarian assistance has increasingly gained momentum as one of the most important tasks of the United Nations system.

In view of the constantly rising number and magnitude of natural disasters and complex emergencies, the task of the Under-Secretary-General, as Emergency Relief Coordinator, to effectively coordinate relief efforts is demanding and often challenging. I would therefore like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Hansen for his dedication and unrelenting efforts. The work output of his staff, both at Headquarters and in the field, merits our appreciation. We would particularly like to commend the work of the United Nations Rwanda Emergency Operation office in Rwanda and the United Nations Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit office in Angola. We believe these are good models of what the Department of Humanitarian Affairs was designed to achieve.

The European Union fully supports the efforts of the United Nations system to introduce a comprehensive approach, which should reflect the relationship and complementarity of humanitarian activities with, on the one hand, long-term preventive, rehabilitation and development measures, and, on the other hand, with United Nations peacemaking and peace-keeping activities. We appreciate the efforts made to improve the Department's world-wide performance. With the urgent needs of disaster victims uppermost in our minds, it has to be said, however, that much remains to be done.

The European Union's main concern is, as has been said before, the effectiveness of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs with regard to the multitude of tasks for which it is responsible. We support the efforts to streamline existing mechanisms and to improve vertical and horizontal coordination. We hope that good results and effective handling will bear out the decisions taken at this point.

We note with satisfaction that Governments in donor and recipient countries have over the years increased their support for the work undertaken by the Department of Humanitarian Affairs. It is important that United Nations agencies and inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations recognize that the Department's role is to facilitate their own efforts, and that they offer their full support. The European Union trusts that the further development of an integrated approach could greatly enhance the Department's overall performance in terms of coherence and efficiency. We therefore support the Emergency Relief Coordinator in his commitment to a more proactive role of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs at Headquarters level through regular and intensive consultations with the members of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee and a structured dialogue with Governments.

At field level, the introduction of humanitarian assistance coordinators for complex emergencies into the already well-established and functional network of Resident Coordinators can provide leadership for humanitarian coordination. We trust that, through complementarity and the selection of suitable personnel, confusion and duplication of work in the critical phases of complex emergencies can be overcome so that maximum coordination efficiency, for the benefit of the needy, can be attained. The European Union would like, at this point, to invite United Nations agencies to be prepared, in cases of urgency, to continue to second the Department personnel suitable for this task.

Another issue on which the success of the work of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs largely depends are resources. As reported to the Economic and Social Council, it has been estimated that the share of resources provided for humanitarian emergencies in overall United Nations assistance jumped from 25 per cent in 1988 to 45 per cent in 1992, and the same trend applies also to bilateral assistance. As a response to humanitarian challenges, for example, the European Union has shouldered the lion's share of the world's aid contributions. In 1993, through both Community funds and the contributions of member States, 1 billion ECU — approximately $1.7 billion — in funding for humanitarian relief has been provided.

In view of the increase and expansion of humanitarian crises worldwide, however, humanitarian actors at both the national and the international levels are looking for additional funding. The European Union welcomes all initiatives to broaden the donor base and to contribute to international burden-sharing. We therefore encourage the Department of Humanitarian Affairs to pursue its efforts to mobilize resources for humanitarian activities. The Central Emergency Revolving Fund is valuable as a revolving cash-flow instrument and as a tool for speeding up activities and bridging temporary gaps, but it needs to be replenished promptly to be able to function effectively.

Allow me, at this point, to reiterate the appeal to the Secretary-General included in General Assembly resolution 48/57 to render the fullest possible support to the Emergency Relief Coordinator and the Department of Humanitarian Affairs for the successful execution of their work, *inter alia* through the provision of adequate staff and administrative resources from the United Nations regular budget. With more than 45 per cent of the administrative costs incurred by the Department currently funded from extrabudgetary resources, the need for urgent measures to improve this particular feature is evident. However, it is also essential that the Department's work be clearly prioritized so that resources are allocated where they are most needed.

With an increasing number of complex emergencies, the Emergency Relief Coordinator is called upon as a humanitarian advocate to address such problems as demining, demobilization and internally displaced persons. The European Union stresses the importance of ensuring that the humanitarian dimensions, particularly the principles of the humanity, neutrality and impartiality of relief assistance, are taken fully into account in the overall United Nations planning of response to emergencies.

In order to overcome the problems underlying most man-made disasters, however, political solutions are called for. We thus urge all those authorized to do so to do their utmost to facilitate for their countries the return to normal life and development. Within the framework of complex emergencies, humanitarian action has to be undertaken in increasingly dangerous environments. The European Union supports fully the measures taken by the

United Nations as a whole with the aim of securing the safety of humanitarian personnel and welcomes the draft convention on the safety and security of United Nations and associated personnel currently under consideration in the Sixth Committee.

The European Union notes with concern the substantial number of draft resolutions containing appeals of countries or regions for special economic assistance. While recognizing the existing needs, we fully support the comprehensive approach taken by the United Nations system in providing for immediate relief measures and an effective continuum from humanitarian aid to rehabilitation and long-term development. We therefore urge Member States to subscribe to the efforts undertaken with a view to streamlining the relevant decision-making processes of the General Assembly, which should lead, in a step-by-step approach, from biennalization and clustering towards an eventual omnibus resolution.

The European Union has taken note of the report of the World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction, which was held this past May in Yokohama, Japan. The Conference highlighted the effectiveness of prevention, mitigation and preparedness *vis-à-vis* the impact of natural disasters and the commitment of Governments to the goals of the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction. The Yokohama Strategy for a Safer World, as a result, comprises an unbiased status report on the achievements of the International Decade during its first half as well as a realistic and implementable plan of action for the years to come.

What was generally agreed upon, in the course of the Yokohama Conference, as the most urgent requirements for the immediate future therefore enjoys the full support of the European Union. Member States actively participated in the Yokohama consultations and in the mid-term review subsequently carried out by the Economic and Social Council.

We share the opinion that awareness of the potential of disaster reduction must be promoted in all sectors of society, in particular among policy-makers and the general public, *inter alia* through a more active involvement of the media. In view of the interdependence between sustainable development and vulnerability, a strengthening of the resilience and self-confidence of local communities to cope with natural disasters is necessary beyond a more general acknowledgement of responsibilities and potentials at the national level. Furthermore, regional and international cooperation must be based on coherent and realistic national planning by disaster-prone countries, and disaster prevention must be integrated as a matter of course into overall national and international development planning.

The European Union has taken a great and active interest in the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction process since its inception in 1989. We therefore pledge our continuous support for the relevant bodies within the United Nations system, and urge the Department of Humanitarian Affairs further to increase its coordination and implementation efforts, especially with a view to strengthening national and local capacities for disaster reduction, early warning and disaster management and to improving interagency coordination and cooperation. In this context, the consolidation of existing mechanisms within the Department's newly formed Disaster Reduction Division seems to be a step in the right direction.

Given the limited financial and material resources, cost- effective pre-disaster care, as stipulated in the framework of the International Decade, appears to be the sensible way to go. The European Union trusts that during the second half of the Decade, and before this millennium comes to its close, disaster prevention will find its rightful place in the development cycle. It must become an integral part of all activities at the international, national and regional levels so that an effective global culture of prevention may eventually take shape.

As we have heard, the number of natural disasters and complex emergencies has been constantly rising in recent years, thus placing an ever heavier burden on the Emergency Relief Coordinator and his staff. The European Union believes that this burden has to be shared, to the extent possible, by the international community, and at this point it would like to pledge its continuous support.

I should now like briefly to introduce draft resolution A/49/L.29 on environmental early warning.

The annual damage caused by environmental disasters is estimated to reach approximately $100 billion by the year 2000. As a consequence, there is a widespread conviction that mechanisms to prevent and reduce the extent of the damage to the environment by man-made and natural disasters have to be substantially improved. The present draft resolution, which is submitted on behalf of the European Union, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Finland and the United States of America, is designed to launch this process.

At the present stage, it is necessary above all to take a critical look at the existing systems within the United Nations. We must further increase the international community's awareness in order to improve the prevention and mitigation of, and preparedness for, natural and man-made disasters. Therefore, the present draft resolution requests the Secretary-General to submit a report on existing early-warning systems and to make suggestions on how to improve and better coordinate them. In our view, the existing structures in the field of early warning — for example, the United Nations Environment Programme, the World Meteorological Organization and the World Health Organization — and the coordinating structures, the most important of which is situated in the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, should be better integrated in order to improve their performance and to provide for an adequate response to recurring disasters.

We hope that our initiative, which was welcomed by a number of Member States in its preparatory stage, will find the support of the General Assembly.

Mr. Abuoaf (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset I should like to express the thanks and gratitude of the Government of the Sudan to the United Nations for the significant humanitarian work it undertook and continues to undertake, in the area of relief operations in the Sudan. We should like also to thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report (A/49/376) of 12 September 1994.

I should like also to extend my thanks to the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, and especially to Mr. Peter Hansen, the Under-Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs, for his statement and his briefing, on the role of his Department in coordinating relief operations in the Sudan.

Our sincere thanks and appreciation go also to all the staff leading Operation Lifeline Sudan, who have devoted themselves under difficult climatic conditions to the provision of relief to the needy in the remote areas of southern Sudan.

We in the Sudan need not reiterate the guiding principles we follow regarding relief and humanitarian assistance. Our thinking stems from our faith and our traditions. We regard relief to the needy as a religious duty and a moral obligation as well as a duty toward every citizen. That understanding is duly reflected in the policies and legislation of our country that regulate humanitarian assistance.

Proceeding from our conviction that humanitarian assistance takes precedence over all political and military considerations, we have welcomed cooperation with the United Nations system and the international community at large. It was through this that Operation Lifeline Sudan, took shape and emerged as a unique Sudanese example that reflects the advanced Sudanese understanding of the process of humanitarian assistance. Operation Lifeline Sudan is a world precedent of a responsible State's proposing the delivery of relief through neighbouring territories and countries to its own citizens, even to those who have taken up arms and risen in rebellion against its authority. It was thus that Operation Lifeline Sudan became an example to be followed, in complex emergency situations, in saving human lives in many parts of the world.

My Government have not stopped at providing the mechanisms needed for Operation Lifeline Sudan, but have continued to honour the commitment to cooperate with the international community in providing relief to all citizens, both in Government-controlled areas and in rebel territories. Since the first phase of Operation Lifeline Sudan the Sudan has extended a hand of cooperation to the United Nations and the donor community in the following ways.

First, we have provided quantities of subsidized grain for purchase by the international community. As you know, the Government has delivered 81,000 tons of sorghum to the World Food Programme this year for distribution to citizens of the Sudan irrespective of their place of residence.

Second, it allocated six steamers and 20 barges from its national fleet to transport relief supplies to the needy.

Third, the Government transferred 90 trucks to the relief organizations for the transportation of humanitarian aid. This is in addition to the allocation of two trains for the some purpose. The Government also proposed that the United Nations operate a train, once a month, to transport relief supplies between Babanusa in the north and Waw in the South — the Government having decided to dispatch a train, once a month, to carry humanitarian aid from Babanusa to Waw — for the purpose of providing people with additional supplies.

Fourth, the Government has created an administrative and technical department to administer and supervise the relief operations.

We have closely studied the Secretariat's report on this subject. While we commend and appreciate the positive comments that highlight the continuing improvement in the functioning of Operation Lifeline Sudan, we note with regret however, that the report contains some points that make us uncomfortable. Let me state the reasons for our discomfort.

First, the statistics of the latest population census in the Sudan, in which the United Nations participated with technical and financial assistance, show that the population in southern Sudan do not exceed 3 million. The report of the Secretary-General is inaccurate in stating that 5.2 million people are affected by the conflict in southern Sudan and that the number of displaced person around Khartoum has reached 1.9 million. Regrettably, in the latter case there is an error factor of more than 100 per cent, as, according to confirmed statistics, the actual number does not exceed 0.7 million.

Second, the report was drafted in a manner that prejudges and calumniates the Government of the Sudan. It accuses the Government of delaying the delivery of its pledged share to the affected people of southern Sudan, instead of commending the Government for pledging unprecedented assistance. We are convinced that in the record of humanitarian work there is nothing to indicate that a State benefiting from United Nations relief donates relief supplies and delivers such supplies to the United Nations for distribution among affected citizens in a non-discriminatory fashion.

Third, the report, in a clear act of injustice and premeditation, accuses the Government of consistently coercing its citizens into moving from their squatter settlements around the cities without providing them with suitable alternative housing. The truth remains that the Government is in the process of implementing a policy aimed at improving the living conditions in these unauthorized squatter settlements through a town planning programme.

To that end, the Government sought the expertise of a European planner with a view to providing these people with suitable housing of a standard that preserves human dignity and equipped with the essential services, which were lacking in the unauthorized random settlements — all in conformity with international standards and the recommendations of the 1992 World Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro.

It seems that the person who drafted the report was either confused or ignorant of the facts relating to the Sudan. It is clear that there is confusion between the unauthorized settlements that are scattered around the cities, on one hand, and the camps that house displaced persons — those who fled form the areas of armed conflict in southern Sudan — on the other hand.

The fact is that unauthorized squatter settlements in the Sudan date back to 1927 and that they remain despite the efforts of the then British colonial Power to replan them in accordance with modern standards. These settlements expanded recently, with enormously adverse consequences. They had to be brought under town planning control to ensure that they measured up to dignified standards of living.

Town planning programmes were subjected to thorough social and technical studies, which laid the basis for compensation for citizens whose homes were affected by rezoning. At the same time, a programme was set up to ensure that every affected citizen had sufficient time to move to the new site allocated to him. The only people who did not benefit from the new plan were the real estate agents and land speculators.

Citizens displaced from southern Sudan because of the war are accommodated in separate camps for displaced persons. As citizens of the Sudan, they are supplied with all essential services, and the international community, through the United Nations and the non-governmental organizations, provides them with humanitarian assistance.

A related allegation in the report is the unfounded, cynical accusation that the Government obstructed the flow of relief to displaced persons. Records of Operation Lifeline Sudan expose this as a lie by referring to the fact that there are 10 international non-governmental organizations operating in the Khartoum camps for displaced persons. These are the American organizations ADRA and CARE, the Netherlands and French Medicains Sans Frontiers, SCF, ACCORD and Goal, the British organization Islamic Aid, Muaffic Voluntary Aid, the United Nations Children's Fund and the Sudanese non-governmental organizations. The American organization ADRA is charged with the task of coordinating relief in the province of Khartoum. This province's relief committee, whose membership includes several non-governmental organizations, has distributed 37,294 tons of relief supplies of food last year, and a similar quantity is expected to be distributed this year.

Displaced persons are also citizens. As such, they are entitled to live in any part of the Sudan. The Government will neither coerce them into living where they do not want to live nor make them return to the villages of their origin. Furthermore, the Government will not obstruct their voluntary return to their home villages. We welcome any international contribution towards the resettlement of these people.

Fourth, the report is unjust in its appraisal of the tremendous efforts undertaken by the United Nations system and the facilities provided by the Government of Sudan, as well as the much-commended contribution by the international community.

The report completely ignores the continuing and tireless efforts made by the Sudanese non-governmental organizations in the field of humanitarian work despite their meagre resources. The report also fails to make any mention whatsoever of the improvements achieved in the nutrition programme in the conflict-affected areas, which resulted in the dismantling of all the nutrition centres, with the exception of two. The largest city in southern Sudan, Juba, today has sufficient food supplies for the next five months.

Furthermore, the report mentioned only in passing the successful programme implemented by the UNICEF Household Security Programme for food security for conflict-affected families. That programme enabled affected families to produce 17 per cent of their food with an average cost of less than $1 per individual. Moreover, the report does not express any appreciation for the tremendous increase in the number of humanitarian assistance corridors, with an increase of 62 per cent in 1994, when the number reached 112 corridors, compared with merely 70 corridors in 1993 and only 21 in 1992.

The World Food Programme, on the other hand, did succeed in sending 26 convoys by barge transporting relief supplies to the southern states, despite the regrettable incidence of banditry by the rebels, who looted the barges and trains carrying relief supplies to the region.

Fifth, the report does mention incidents of looting and assault on relief convoys in rather generalized and inaccurate language, without openly naming the real perpetrators of such incidents. It became clear that the intention was to level fabricated allegations and imply involvement by the Government in such incidents. Honesty and accuracy would prompt us to say that the real perpetrators of the looting of relief convoys should be named, and we presume that the drafter of the report knows who the perpetrators are. It is quite sufficient here to note that the statement issued by the Secretary-General in May 1994 contained his official condemnation of the outlaws and his condemnation of them for perpetrating the looting of and acts of aggression against the relief convoys. The record of the rebels bears witness to their aggression against the train carrying relief supplies, when they looted more than 880 tons, in addition to looting 1,350 tons of relief supplies from the barges in 1994. Instead of exposing and condemning such incidents of gross criminality, the report was drawn in a manner that insinuates Government involvement in such acts.

Fortunately, this year's rainfall did cover all parts of Sudan, thus promising an agricultural season of abundant harvests. Accordingly, many regions that receive relief may turn out not to be in need of such relief. If this happens, the aggregate relief needed will turn out to be very limited indeed. Having said this, we must point out that we have to wait for the joint report by the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Food Programme and the Government of Sudan which will make it possible to estimate the expected volume of food production for this season and the quantity of required relief.

On the basis of these estimates, the Government will be able to determine the quantity of cereals it will have to pledge for relief purposes while undertaking to facilitate purchases by the donors from the domestic market for the same purpose.

Therefore, it would be more appropriate for all of us to take advantage of the excellent conditions of this agricultural rainy season this year, to initiate the implementation of the reconstruction projects in the areas affected by the drought or by lack of security in the southern parts of the country, especially after the influx of returnees in the framework of the Government's programme of achieving peace within the country and the implementation of the federal system. Assistance by the international community in this respect is needed to help the returnees resume their normal lives.

Such assistance should focus on food security programmes, including the provision of seeds, agricultural tools and farm machinery, increasing storage capacity and improving the infrastructure for domestic communities, particularly with regard to local roads, water supplies, sanitation, health services and education.

As we look forward to next year's activities, there should be a great deal of concerted efforts by the Government, the United Nations system, the donors and the non-governmental organizations, since all of them are in pursuit of the same noble humanitarian objectives. We should learn from the experience of the past few years, both the positive and the negative, if we are to improve our performance. That goal cannot be achieved except by ensuring the following conditions:

First, the reaffirmation of our genuine will to conduct humanitarian assistance operations in a purely humanitarian context, without any deviation to serve political interests. Such a condition implies that partners in Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), especially some non-governmental organizations, must strictly ensure that their activities are confined to purely humanitarian objectives and refrain from any anti-Sudanese political and media campaigns. We have witnessed such deviations in the reporting by certain mass media and world news agencies. This we consider to be gross interference in the internal affairs of Sudan, which we unequivocally reject in accordance with all conventions and international norms.

Second, we hope for justice in relief distribution according to need and in a non-discriminatory manner. Accordingly, the donors are requested not to earmark their assistance to a certain geographical area. They are urged to direct their assistance and donations to OLS to be distributed according to need, in order to avoid creating surplus in certain areas while other areas suffer severe shortage, as was the case last year. Recent years have witnessed such imbalance whereby the Government, despite having recaptured vast areas of territory, nevertheless saw the share of relief to the citizens in the areas under its control continue to decrease. It was 73% in 1990, 77% in 1991 then went down to 53% in 1992/1993 and 47% in 1993/1994 despite the inclusion of newly-recaptured areas.

Third, the main assurance of success for humanitarian assistance operations is the arrival on time of the material and financial contributions, thus facilitating early sound planning and setting of accurate timetables for the flow of relief to those who need it most in a timely fashion. The arrival of relief mainly in March instead of the beginning of the year adversely affects the delivery of relief due to the short time left for road transport before the beginning of the rainy season, which compels us to resort to costly air transport to certain areas.

Fourth, optimum utilization of road, river and rail transport from the north to most areas in the south should be ensured in order to reduce the cost of transport and to ensure the sufficient flow of relief, especially in light of the intransigence of the rebels in refusing to allow passage of relief on the roads from neighbouring countries and the increasing risk of using those roads.

In conclusion, the delegation of the Sudan wishes to reiterate once again the full commitment of the people and Government of the Sudan to the cause of assisting our citizens, wherever they are, whether in Government-controlled areas or in areas still controlled by the rebels. My Government expresses in this Hall its appreciation for the whole international community, represented by the United Nations, the donor community and the non-governmental organizations, for the valuable assistance they have provided, and continue to provide, to the Sudanese citizens in need of relief in their regions. My Government also calls for further cooperation towards realizing these noble humanitarian goals. We shall continue to deal with the humanitarian issue with an open heart and mind and in full cooperation with the international community in order to overcome these exceptional emergency situations.

In this context, the delegation of Sudan expresses its full confidence that the General Assembly will unanimously adopt the draft resolutions before it in this context.

Mr. Kurien (India): My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his report to the General Assembly on the question of strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief assistance of the United Nations, including special economic assistance. We have studied the report with great care, and welcome this opportunity to participate in the debate on this important agenda item. My delegation associates itself with the views expressed by Algeria, as Chairman of the Group of 77 and on behalf of China, and wishes to make a few additional comments.

The Charter of the United Nations states that one of the purposes of the Organization is to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character. India, as a founding member of the United Nations, has consistently attached a high priority to all these aspects of the work of the Organization.

The Department of Humanitarian Affairs has come a long way since its establishment pursuant to resolution 46/182. Along the way, it has been further strengthened by other resolutions, such as 47/168, 48/57 and 48/162, and has successfully hurdled several challenges. Primarily set up for effective coordination and strengthening of the humanitarian emergency assistance programme of the United Nations, it has played an admirable role by responding to appeals from various quarters, despite glaring constraints on resources.

The Department has indeed branched out much further, beyond the guidelines laid down in resolution 46/182. There is a need for coordination with the various agencies, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, other governmental and non-governmental organizations and the International Committee of the Red Cross. The responsibility in the field for humanitarian work has been clearly entrusted by General Assembly resolution 46/182 to the UNDP resident coordinator.

My delegation recognizes the overriding importance of such coordination and has articulated, at various United Nations forums, the need for such coordination to be within the mandates provided by the relevant General Assembly resolutions. While appreciating the tremendous work being done by the Department under the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Hansen, we are committed to ensuring that the initiatives taken by the Department are in accordance with the mandates established by the General Assembly.

The guiding principle of the activities of the Department, as we see it, should be General Assembly resolution 46/182, which clearly spells out the parameters for humanitarian assistance. These include the principles of humanity, neutrality and impartiality; full respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of States; the primary importance of the principle of consent of affected countries and of their appeal; and finally, the primary role that has to be given to the affected State in the initiation, organization, coordination and implementation of humanitarian assistance within its territory. My delegation reaffirms its committed support for all humanitarian activities under the United Nations umbrella within these specified parameters.

The report under discussion today has ventured well beyond earlier such efforts, as it seeks to address a range of complex and humanitarian emergencies; the issue of vertical coordination between the humanitarian, peace-keeping and peacemaking efforts; the enhancing of a quick-response capacity in the early stages of an emergency; and measures relating to early warning, vulnerability mapping and preventive action. This is a very wide mandate indeed, and it appears to go well beyond clearly mandated lines, as enabling resolutions authorizing such activity have all been conditional on obtaining more information before final mandates are given.

The report's emphasis that within the Inter-Agency Standing Committee a principal objective has been to develop modalities for interaction between the political, peace-keeping and humanitarian components of the United Nations operations, while establishing procedures governing cooperation, information, joint planning and logistics, is fundamental. Very simply, it links logistical questions to fundamental concepts of primary importance, such as neutrality, impartiality, sovereignty and consent of the nations, which are fundamental to Member States. The report mentions that the Standing Committee has drawn up a set of general principles to guide humanitarian actions in conflict situations, and perhaps these are already being operationalized and acted upon.

My delegation is of the view that such fundamental guidelines need to benefit from wider and more sustained intergovernmental discussions. A framework has to be in place under which regular consultations could be held with Member States before actions as yet falling outside the mandates of General Assembly resolutions gain ground and acceptance through practice.

The addendum to the report, containing the guidelines agreed to by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, has just been circulated, leaving delegations with no time to conduct an in-depth study of the issues raised. The report addresses issues of a fundamental nature that we need time to consider. My delegation is therefore not in a position to endorse the addendum to the report of the Secretary-General at the present moment.

In generally assessing the efforts of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, we firmly believe that clear distinctions have to be drawn to define the relationship between the imperative of peace-keeping and peacemaking and the principles of humanitarian access, which are primarily neutrality and impartiality. The distinction may be a fine one, easily overlooked in practice in the wake of great humanitarian emergencies. The distinction is nevertheless a relevant, valid and crucial one to Member States, and this needs to be respected.

My delegation is deeply appreciative of the efforts in the United Nations, underlined in the report, on measures for improving prevention of, and preparedness capacities for, natural disasters. The World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction, held in Japan, gave us another opportunity to address this important issue. We are particularly appreciative of the efforts for enhanced United Nations activity in increasing country-level capabilities to deal better with natural disasters and sudden-onset emergencies. We would further urge that the technical assistance that has been committed at appropriate levels in the United Nations system to assist countries in these fields be extended without any delay.

My delegation is acutely aware of the financial resource constraints being faced by the Department of Humanitarian Affairs. We would like to stress the point that resources for humanitarian emergencies will need to be provided on a regular and predictable basis to support the Department's efforts at making humanitarian assistance possible within the mandates of the United Nations system. While this is being discussed in the open-ended consultations on financing for operational activities, chaired by India, the requirements for humanitarian emergencies would need to be placed on a special footing to assist the most-affected developing countries.

Strengthening national capabilities can go a long way in dealing with humanitarian emergencies. My delegation is committed to cooperating in any new initiatives for strengthening national capabilities in the areas of disaster management and humanitarian coordination which are intergovernmentally discussed, negotiated and accepted. In all these efforts, we will continue to emphasize the importance of clarifying the relationship between conflict resolution and humanitarian assistance. We would be failing in our duty as a Member State if we did not draw attention to the problems that have arisen whenever this distinction has been overlooked.

In conclusion, we affirm our commitment to all United Nations activity in the area of humanitarian assistance mandated in General Assembly resolutions, while also reaffirming the principles of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of States and the importance of providing humanitarian assistance with the consent of the affected country.

The President: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 45/6 of 16 October 1990, I now call on the Observer of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Mr. Sommaruga (International Committee of the Red Cross) (*interpretation from French*): I am grateful for this opportunity to speak on agenda item 37 during the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

The year 1994 will be remembered as one of unspeakable suffering, a year in which entire populations were threatened, starved, terrorized, massacred and forced into the insanity of exile. It will also be remembered for having revealed that in large measure the responsibility for this widespread suffering must be borne by the massive trade in conventional weapons of all kinds and their indiscriminate and unprincipled use.

While Rwanda offers the most striking illustration of this situation, other conflicts, such as those in Liberia, Angola, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Afghanistan and Sri Lanka, to mention but a few, must not be forgotten. Today, more than ever before, the International Committee of the Red Cross is involved in all aspects of emergency humanitarian protection and assistance. I am therefore pleased to share with the Assembly some thoughts based on the daily experience of our delegates.

What can be said today about the process of strengthening the coordination of humanitarian assistance? First, it certainly remains indispensable, especially because of the very magnitude of the task and the growing number of actors on the humanitarian-assistance scene.

Undeniably, progress has been made in terms of openness and exchange of information.

Fortunately, emergency situations often trigger common-sense reflexes that naturally lead, especially in the field, to tangible and complementary efforts to avoid wasting energy. However, it must be noted that much remains to be done before true coordination can be said to have taken the place of cohabitation. This will be a lengthy process if centralization and bureaucracy are to be avoided. Simply adopting resolutions will not solve the problems.

Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian assistance should, above all, make possible more efficient planning of humanitarian action in terms of time and of place. As examples of poor coordination and unsatisfactory planning, we have humanitarian agencies concentrated in a few theatres of operation while others are neglected, and then their simultaneous withdrawal without any provisions for the orderly transition to development programmes. Forgetting or forsaking victims is utterly unacceptable.

The International Committee of the Red Cross, which works in constantly evolving conflict situations, is open to the idea of coordination but is intent on protecting its independence. It is open in the sense of transparency and tangible, flexible cooperation, adapted every day to conditions in the field; it is independent in taking decisions, including financial decisions, in order to preserve at all cost its treaty-based role as a neutral humanitarian intermediary, while also preserving the swiftness and effectiveness of its operational activities. This independence is an essential tool in the work done to help all victims, in a spirit of complementarity and solidarity with our humanitarian partners.

Today's debate, which focuses on our humanitarian responsibilities, gives me an opportunity to express to the Assembly my concern about the frequent use of the label "humanitarian" in a sense stripped of its deepest meaning, which has to do with the prevention and alleviation of human suffering.

The pressure exerted on Governments by the media has created a political need for high-profile action, which can in turn obscure overall needs and lead Governments to avoid or postpone necessary political decisions for which humanitarian action is no substitute. This thought prompts me once again to call for a clearer definition of the respective aims and mandates of all the actors on the international scene.

Recent experience, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Somalia, has enabled us to gain a deeper understanding today of the relationship between humanitarian action and military action. While military or police intervention may prove necessary for the deployment of humanitarian operations, the two forms of activity should on no account be confused. Specific aims promote greater efficiency. Indeed, the parties to a conflict must be able to perceive the neutral and impartial character of humanitarian action if it is to be accepted. Wherever this is not the case, victims suffer all the more and humanitarian workers run a high risk of becoming targets of attacks. This is why I firmly advocate a clear distinction between military and humanitarian action, without, however, ruling out the possibility of continuous dialogue to ensure harmonious complementarity.

The setting up of international tribunals to try those accused of massive violations of international humanitarian law and of human rights committed in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda has raised hopes for an end to the reign of impunity. The International Committee of the Red Cross fully supports the establishment of an international criminal tribunal. Justice is a crucial factor in restoring confidence among the people of a divided nation and hence in enabling displaced people and refugees to return to their homes. It is complementary to, yet distinct from, humanitarian action. It is not up to humanitarian agencies to act as judges, and even less as prosecutors, as this would make it impossible for this kind of witness to gain access to the victims.

No crisis can be solved without political action. Without it, emergency humanitarian assistance can do no more than temporarily alleviate the acute symptoms of an endemic, if not incurable, disease.

Is it not obvious that the breakdown of State structures, massive violations of humanitarian law and human rights by Governments or factions, and in some cases the complete disappearance of the very principle of humanity are caused by a lack of attention and action on the part of the international community in finding solutions either before or at the outset of a disaster requiring emergency assistance?

The humanitarian agencies expect political leaders, States, the United Nations and regional organizations to make their task easier, without actually doing the work that has been entrusted to those agencies. Urgent attention needs to be given to situations that are reaching deadlock while continuing to cause dreadful suffering — in Afghanistan, Liberia and Somalia, for example.

I am convinced that all humanitarian agencies wish to join me in inviting political leaders to take greater account of humanitarian criteria when taking decisions to impose economic and financial sanctions. Perhaps we should give special thought here to the grave public-health effects of the paralysis of water-purification and pumping installations. Is it not incongruous to apply the iron fist and then apply the velvet glove of humanitarian aid to restore supplies vital to the population's survival?

In this connection, I should like to emphasize the profound concern of the International Committee of the Red Cross about the disastrous effects that damaging, contaminating or even destroying water-supply systems can have on people, and in particular children. This is an increasingly widespread phenomenon and a growing cause for concern in today's armed conflicts.

The clarification of respective mandates is not the sole guarantee of efficiency. The conduct of different types of activity must also be carefully managed over time. This, I believe, is one of the greatest challenges facing us in a rapidly changing environment.

The sole purpose of emergency humanitarian action is to save lives. Emergency operations should not last longer than is absolutely necessary and should include rehabilitation work.

The continuum of emergency action, rehabilitation and development requires flawless management, all the more because responsibility for such work lies with different organizations with different mandates and different budgets. That is why proper planning over time is so important, both from the conceptual and from the decision-making standpoints, in terms of human, material and financial resources. All these efforts are indispensable for building peace.

As President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, I could hardly conclude this statement before the Assembly without restating the basic postulate that international humanitarian law must be respected in all circumstances. In its Declaration of 1 September 1993, the International Conference for the Protection of War Victims reaffirmed the need to make the implementation of international humanitarian law more effective. An intergovernmental group of experts is at work in Geneva, seeking practical means to promote full respect for this law and the application of its rules. The group will submit a report to States and to the next International Conference of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent, which will be held in Geneva in December 1995. This Conference is the only forum that provides an opportunity for dialogue between the national Red Cross and the Red Crescent Societies, their International Federation, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the 185 States parties to the Geneva Conventions. Ensuring that practical steps are taken to fulfil the obligation to respect, and ensure respect for, humanitarian law is an absolute priority and will be the goal of the Geneva Conference. This gathering will leave no room for political debate and will provide an excellent opportunity to find answers to purely humanitarian problems which bring us face to face with our ethical responsibilities. I hope that the debate will be both serene and constructive; indeed, I feel that this is more necessary than ever if the international community is to succeed in taking effective action to relieve the unspeakable suffering being endured by countless persons.

The challenge that lies before us all is to humanize political action rather than to politicize humanitarian action.

Programme of work

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to announce that the General Assembly will consider sub-item (c) of agenda item 16, entitled "Election of seventeen members of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law", on Monday, 28 November, in the morning. The General Assembly will have to elect by secret ballot two members from among the Eastern European States.

On Wednesday, 7 December, the Assembly will consider agenda item 159, entitled "Support by the United Nations system for the efforts by Governments to promote and consolidate new or restored democracies", in the morning.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.